

GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE
VISCOUNT DUNDEE



MICHAEL BARRINGTON

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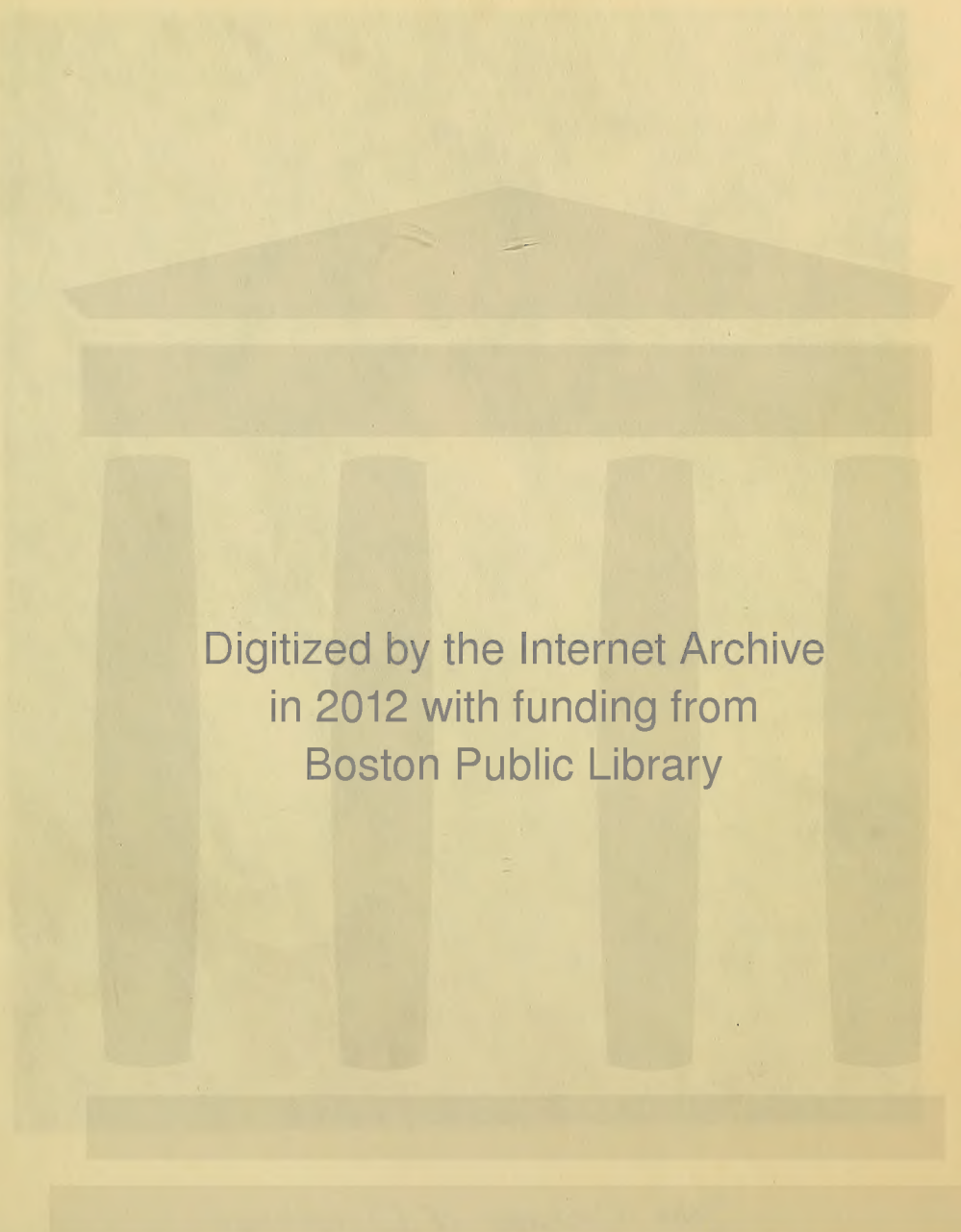
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GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE
VISCOUNT DUNDEE, 1648-1689





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John Grahame of Claverhouse
from the Painting at Glamis Castle

GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE VISCOUNT DUNDEE

By Michael Barrington ❧ ❧ ❧

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Michael Barrington

Preface

TENNYSON once said that biography should be written by a man who wholly loved the subject of his work, yet loved with a discriminating love ; and it is certain that, while discrimination is essential, a merely academic interest never adequately takes the place of personal sympathy and insight. "Biography—alas ! even the biography of intimate friends—involves, as soon as one tries to penetrate the inner life, a great deal of guess-work" ; and if this is the case in writing of a friend and contemporary, how much more difficult it is to see clearly into the dim recesses of the past ; to enter into the hearts of men whose manners were not as our manners, whose beliefs were not as our beliefs, and whose life's work has been overturned by Time, the great destroyer. Small marvel that the biographer who can show clearly the significance of an historic character is lamentably rare, life being short and art long, and, as Matthew Arnold adds, false information very plentiful.

In such an arduous undertaking many attempt and few succeed ; and even those who have succeeded—those who have breathed life into the dust from dead men's bones, and triumphed over space and time—have scant cause for complacency, knowing as they do that "the best in this kind are but shadows, and the worst no worse if imagination amend them." Imagination, if by imagination we mean sympathy and power to see the inner meanings lying hidden under facts, is as vital a necessity to the historian as to the novelist ; but this illuminating quality has been conspicuously lacking in many a biographer, who, pouring forth upon his reader's head an undigested mass of facts, leaves in obscurity the one essential point, the character and disposition of his subject.

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The character of Claverhouse, whether regarded from a worldly or a philosophic standpoint, repays careful study ; and as in his diplomatic letters he intentionally makes simultaneous appeal both to the higher aspirations and to the selfish ambitions of the men whose service and alliance he was courting in his master's interest, so at the present time he will be found to have a twofold power, and in different ways will attract minds which otherwise have little in common. Those who confess to a romantic leaning towards lost causes, and who set high value on the moral attributes of constancy and of inviolable fidelity, will have every reason to pay homage to the memory of King James's champion ; while men ambitious of success may learn its secret from the career of that great leader who, starting his campaign with "neither commission, money, nor ammunition," and with only some forty or fifty horsemen, could by his own unaided efforts and sheer personal magnetism get together in less than four months an army of 6000 Highlanders. The student of character will look upon all the previous forty years of Claverhouse's life chiefly as the prelude to those four eventful months in which he, who from youth upwards "toiled so much" at duties often uncongenial, was granted at last the opportunity to prove himself a "new phoenix risen from the ashes of Montrose."

The present biography—completed early in 1905, some months before the publication of Professor C. Sanford Terry's erudite work on the same subject—was put aside in hope that possibly among the Vatican catalogues of manuscript, or in the private charter chests of famous Scottish families, I might be fortunate enough to come upon important new material ; not such material as is called new merely because it has been hitherto unpublished, but material which would have thrown a flood of light on the disputed points of Claverhouse's life and settled once and for all the controversy as to the time and manner of his death. I believed the missing finish to the Standard-Bearer's epic might be found ; and that I might discover somewhere in concealment letters of Claverhouse to his wife, to his devoted brother David, to his friend

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Balcarres, or to his staunch supporter Cameron of Lochiel ; or, best of all, his letters to King James relating to the early phases of the Highland war and plans for the projected Restoration. But such hopes are as far as ever from fulfilment.

The most valuable discovery in connection with Claverhouse was the unearthing by Mark Napier—from the multitudinous Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS.—of the numerous letters written by the “Persecutor” to the Lord High Treasurer Queensberry, one of which is here reproduced in facsimile. Napier’s book was brought out in 1859, and in 1880 Sir William Fraser published Claverhouse’s correspondence with the eighth and last Earl of Menteith. Since then, though here and there a letter or a fact has come to light, Claverhouse’s more recent biographers have rearranged existing evidence, repudiated legendary lore, and cleared away excrescences, rather than added any startling new matter. None of them have presented a complete and living portrait of their subject ; and it is a significant fact that, in a military sense, justice has not been rendered in the nineteenth or the twentieth century to the man who in his own day was esteemed “a second Montrose.” This is because biography and history are oftenest produced by mere scholastic theorists, seldom equipped to understand, much less to demonstrate to others, the full significance of a great soldier’s strenuous career.

The ideal biographer for a distinguished man of action should preferably be of kindred moral calibre and practical experience ; and there are famous soldiers now alive who by their mental qualities and personal achievements are better fit than I am to depict Dundee’s campaign of 1689 and to reveal his merits as a General. But such men, makers of our modern history, rarely can allow themselves the leisure requisite to write historic works relating to a bygone age ; and therefore I took upon myself to carry out a task in which a man of letters who is also a civilian must of necessity be handicapped. I have however been materially aided by the expert criticism of such men of action as I have

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been privileged to count among my friends, and so the chief claim of this Life of Claverhouse to stand apart from any of its predecessors is that the victor of Killiecrankie is here for the first time depicted from the military and practical and not the academic, antiquarian, or sentimental standpoint.

I should mention that although the vagaries of seventeenth-century spelling are too familiar in the scholar's eyes to call forth either comment or apology, there are other readers to whom such orthographic eccentricities constitute a tiresome distraction from the matter; and on their account in quoting Claverhouse's letters and those of his contemporaries I have preferred to spell as we would spell to-day. In a work the interest of which is primarily human, and not archæological, I see no reason to be tied to obsolete orthography which may impede the passage of thought from mind to mind across the centuries. Even in the matter of a title I will not vex modern eyes by strange orthography; but while discarding "*Dundie*" in favour of the present mode of spelling, I adhere to "*Grahame*" as not only used by Claverhouse himself but used still by his nearest representatives, the Barclay-Grahames of Morphie.

Obedient to a famous critic's justifiable reminder that the function of biography is to present a living character, and not to heap up masses of detail, I relegate to footnotes and appendices such controversial, supplementary and explanatory particulars as are intended rather for historic students than for average readers.

It is hoped that while the chronology of Claverhouse's career up to the Revolution, the itineraries of his subsequent campaign, the tabular pedigree, and the voluminous bibliography, will render this work convenient for the purposes of reference, the narrative and maps may prove of interest no less to the general public than to those military readers who by the nature of their calling are best fitted to appreciate "Dark John the Warrior."

MICHAEL BARRINGTON.

New Year's Day, 1911.

NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I WISH to express my gratitude primarily to Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.M.G., C.B., whose illuminating military criticism has enabled me to do tardy justice to Dundee's Highland campaign. My thanks are also due to the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry for allowing me to select from the letters of Claverhouse in his possession one specially suitable for reproduction in facsimile. My thanks are also due to the Marchioness of Bute for giving me an opportunity to examine at leisure nine of Claverhouse's letters to Lord Linlithgow. To the Earl of Airlie and Sir Alexander Grierson of Lag I am indebted for copies of letters from Claverhouse to their respective ancestors; and I should likewise mention my debt to the late Lord Herries for a copy of a contemporary transcript (in the Constable-Maxwell MSS.) of Dundee's speech to his troops before the battle of Killiecrankie, and his subsequent letter to King James round which so heated a controversy has raged since 1826 when its authenticity was first questioned. I owe much to the late Right Rev. John Dowden, D.D., Bishop of Edinburgh, for the loan of various rare theological pamphlets of the seventeenth century; and to the late Principal Story of Glasgow for valuable encouragement and advice; also to the late Rev. Alexander Murdoch, Canon of St Mary's, Edinburgh, the learned editor of the *Grameid*, who read the first draft of my work and gave me the benefit of his criticism. The late Earl of Strathmore gave kind permission to me to have the famous Glamis portrait of Claverhouse specially reproduced for this biography; and I must thank Mrs Milbank Leslie-Melville for a similar privilege with regard to the portrait of Claverhouse at Melville House, Fife. To the Hon. Hew Dalrymple I am under obligations for a photograph of a portrait of Claverhouse now in his possession, and to Mr A. G. Maxtone Graham of Cultoquhey for giving me facilities to procure a reproduction of the Cultoquhey portrait; both these portraits are described in Appendix II. For information on various points relating to portraits or documents connected with my subject, I must offer my thanks to the Marchioness of Bath; Miss F. B. Grahame of Morphie; Miss B. M. Barclay-Grahame of Morphie; Miss Olave Cunninghame Graham; Miss Murdoch; Sir G. F. Warner, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum; Mr J. Seymour Lucas, R.A., F.S.A.; Mr A. Francis Steuart, advocate; Mr Edward Watson; Mr James Caw, Director of the Scottish National Galleries; Dr J. Maitland Thompson of H.M.'s Register House, Edinburgh; Mr Horace Hart, printer to the University of Oxford; Mr F. Madan, Sub-librarian of the Bodleian Library; Mr A. W. K. Miller, of the British Museum, and finally to Mr W. J. Hay, antiquarian publisher and bookseller, of John Knox's House, Edinburgh, whose unostentatious but important researches in connection with his country's past should command the sympathy and admiration of all who cherish the historic memory of bygone Scotland. M. B.

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NOTE ON THE COVER DESIGN

CONCERNING Claverhouse's singularly appropriate crest, a phoenix issuing from flames, there is no dispute; but his coat-of-arms, like much else concerning him, has been the subject of a controversy; and as his name and honours were ordered to be "riven furth and delett out of the Book of Arms" (when by his death in battle for King James he had brought upon himself the name of "traitor"), the heralds are to-day unable to decide the argument by an appeal to the Register. Douglas's Peerage, 1764, cites the arms of Claverhouse as "or, three pyles wavy, within a double tressure counterflowered sable. On a chief of the second, three escallops of the first." The same coat is given by Nisbet (1772), who, however, blasons the tressure gules instead of sable.

In the new Scots Peerage Professor Terry, on the strength of a seal used by Claverhouse on one of his letters to Lord Menteith ("Red Book of Menteith," vol. ii., p. 460), gives his arms as, "A chief indented charged with three escallop shells, a double tressure flory counterflory"; but these were the arms of his cousin, Grahame of Fintry (Sir George Mackenzie's "Collections . . . that relate to the Families of Scotland." Advocates' Library, MSS. 34.3.19.); and I can only conclude that Claverhouse on this occasion was using his kinsman's seal instead of his own. The three pyles wavy differenced the Claverhouse from the Fintry arms, and the seal on a letter from Claverhouse to MacNaughton of Dunderaw, written during the Highland Campaign of 1689 (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 12068, fol. 137), shows distinctly this charge which distinguished the cadet branch of Claverhouse from the main stem of Fintry. In a packet of heraldic playing cards printed in 1691 the arms of "Grahame, V. of Dundie" are shown as stated by Nisbet and Douglas, but without the tinctures; they are also depicted with the three pyles wavy beneath Williams's mezzotint of Lord Dundee, and under the engraved portrait prefixed to the 1714 "Memoir." The seal on the letter from Lord Dundee to MacNaughton of Dunderaw (1689) shows an esquire's helmet, so it seems that in the turmoil of the Revolution Claverhouse had no time to think of getting a new seal subsequent to his being made a peer. On the seal in question there are no tinctures—a common omission in Scottish seals of this period—and the tressure, instead of ending where it meets the chief, is carried all round the shield, an inaccuracy which may be imputed to the goldsmith's ignorance. Such mistakes were not infrequent; the engraver of one of Montrose's seals, for instance, confounded a fess with a chief; and Claverhouse's contemporary and friend Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh complained that the carelessness of the nobility and gentry in affairs heraldic would lead to great confusion in the future. Claverhouse, in place of his armorial seal, sometimes employed a non-heraldic seal with a cypher representing the letters of his signature (J. Grahame) surmounted by a wreath of laurel, the Grahame badge. An impression of this is the only seal which remains intact on his letters to Lord Linlithgow. As head of the family of Grahame of Claverhouse, and one of the minor barons of Scotland, he would by Caledonian heraldry have been entitled to supporters even before he was created a peer. But what supporters he used, if any, there is now no means of knowing, hence their absence on the cover design of this present work.

The First Thirty-One Years

1648-1679

The Chief of this Tophet on earth, a soldier of distinguished courage and professional skill, but rapacious and profane, of violent temper, and of obdurate heart, has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred.—MACAULAY, History of England.

I went and knelt beside the stone which marks the spot of Claverhouse's death-wound, and prayed for more such spirits—we need them now.—RUSKIN to MISS MITFORD (1853).

Chapter I: The First Thirty-One Years, 1648-1679

“FAME,” wrote Claverhouse’s friend Sir George Mackenzie, “is a revenue payable only to our ghosts”; and nothing is more open to discussion than the seemingly erratic payment of that revenue. It appears sometimes as though the reputation of an historic character is determined less by his actual conduct when alive than by the interpretation put upon it in after times; and it is a somewhat melancholy reflection that a great man’s name must be at the mercy of a posterity which is probably ignorant of—or markedly antipathetic to—the principles by which he was actuated. The despotic monarchy for which Claverhouse lived and died is so opposed to the popular political standards of the present day that it has been classed among such extinct ideals as the independence of Thebes, the martial supremacy of Rome, and the freedom of the Holy Sepulchre. Yet though creeds change and dynasties are overthrown character remains of eternal interest, and to a philosophic mind there is much food for thought in applying the test of Time to bygone causes. The later Stuart Kings do not come well out of this ordeal. Regarded not through the rose-coloured glasses of glamour and sentiment, but with the stern judicial eye of the dispassionate observer, their reputations suffer considerably from exposure to a bright light; but it must be admitted that they had the power of drawing out the deepest and most strenuous devotion from men of

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strong minds and fine intellects. The exploits of the four Cavalier leaders, Strafford, Prince Rupert, Montrose, and Dundee, will always serve to keep in remembrance the monarchs who were capable of inspiring such ardent fidelity and such heroic services.

Dundee—to whom Swift alludes as “the best man in Scotland,” and to whose integrity and abilities even his personal enemies bear grudging witness—has, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, been depicted as a demi-god and as a monster, both of which creations have done much to obscure his character as a man. The difficulty of understanding him has been considerably exaggerated by those who ignore the spirit of his race and who disregard the political conditions of the age in which he lived.

He came of a family which for the previous five hundred years had played no inconsiderable part in Scottish history. William de Grahame was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Holyrood Abbey ; Sir John de Grahame, the friend and brother-in-arms of Wallace, died fighting at Falkirk against the English ; Sir Patrick de Grahame, “a goodly knight,” fell valiantly at the battle of Dunbar, “lamented and applauded even by his enemies.” It was his heir Sir David—taken prisoner at Dunbar in 1296—to whom King Robert Bruce granted a charter of the lands of Old Montrose. Sir David’s son, another Sir David, joined the ill-fated expedition of King David II. into England, and with him was captured at the battle of Neville’s Cross. His eldest son, Sir Patrick de Grahame, was one of the hostages for the ransom of this luckless monarch. Sir Patrick’s son and heir, Sir William of Kincardine, also invaded England ; and he too endured imprisonment in an English fortress, after the battle of Homildon Hill in 1402.

This Sir William de Grahame, marrying first a daughter of Sir John Oliphant, was ancestor by her of the “Great Marquess” of Montrose. Before 1416 he had formed an alliance with the royal family, his second wife being the Lady Mary, daughter of Robert III. (the unhappy King in “The Fair Maid of Perth”), and sister to James I. of tragic

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memory.¹ It was the eldest son of this union, Sir Robert Grahame of Fintry and Strathcarron, who was progenitor of the Grahames of Claverhouse.²

The loyalty of the two greatest of the Grahames, Montrose and Dundee, to the ill-fated house of Stuart, was so impassioned that it seems as though they had striven by acts of unparalleled devotion to wipe out the one blot of treason which stained the honour of their name—the midnight assassination of James I. by their kinsman Sir Robert Grahame of Strathearn. This Sir Robert—"a great gentleman and an earl's son," endowed with "wit and eloquence," wonderfully subtle and "expert in the law"—hating the King for his efforts to curb the headstrong nobility, rose and denounced him in council, laying violent hands upon him, execrating him as a tyrant, and threatening to arrest him in the name of the three estates of the realm.³ His daring protest was treated contemptuously by his Sovereign lord, who, instead of imprisoning the offender as a more far-seeing despot would have done, confiscated his lands and sent him into exile. Then Sir Robert, lurking in hiding in the Highlands among the "wild Scottis," "conspired and imagined" how he might "destroy his King," and wrote renouncing his allegiance—vowing fearful vengeance for the wrongs of his order.⁴

¹ Claverhouse's royal ancestress, the Lady Mary Stuart, was married four, if not five, times. 1st, to George Douglas, Earl of Angus; 2nd, to Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, ancestor of the Earls of Cassillis and Marquesses of Ailsa; 3rd, probably to Sir William Cunninghame of Kilmaurs; 4th, to Sir William de Grahame; 5th, to Sir William Edmondstone, ancestor of the Edmondstones of Duntreath. She died after 1458, and was buried in the parish church of Strathblane. (Balfour-Paul, *Scots Peerage*.)

² See Pedigree.

³ "Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland," Maitland Club, pp. 49-50.

⁴ Sir Robert was uncle of Malise Grahame, Earl Palatine of Strathearn (see Pedigree), who had been deprived of his earldom by the King on the ground that Strathearn was a royal title. It was at the Parliament of 1433 that Sir Robert defied King James; and his subsequent conspiracy against the throne was joined by Walter, Earl of Atholl, the King's uncle, whose conduct is marked by treachery of the grossest kind, whereas Sir Robert at least was frank and open in his enmity. Tracked down and captured after the King's murder, Sir Robert was subjected to frightful tortures, which he faced in that same haughty scornful spirit which had led him in the first place to defy the King. His vigour, courage and endurance, were remarkable, and he died as he had lived, aflame with furious hatred, and disdaining to pretend a penitence he did not feel.

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How the King met his doom at the Blackfriars Monastery in Perth—despite the agonised warnings of the “woman of Ireland” who begged him to turn back and fly from danger¹—is one of the tragedies familiar to us all. How the treacherous Chamberlain had taken away the bolts and bars from the door of the Queen’s room that the murderers might burst in unopposed at midnight; how Catherine Douglas, putting her arm through the empty stanchion-holds, held the door and thus for a few moments kept the assassins at bay; how the heroic monarch fought like a lion, and fell at last, covered with wounds, his death-stroke dealt by Sir Robert Grahame—all this may have been a nursery tale for Claverhouse and his brother and sisters, for their cousins of Fintry claimed descent from the brave Catherine Douglas. Her daughter Jonete married Sir Robert of Fintry, nephew of the murdered King; and it was this Fintry who by his second wife had been father of the first John Grahame of Claverhouse.² In the last John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, was to culminate the glory of the Grahames; and with him was to fall the power of the most imprudent, most romantic, most unfortunate, and most unstable race that ever strove to rule a turbulent kingdom.

Though Claverhouse’s ancestors had been closely concerned in some of the most thrilling events of Scottish history, the five generations immediately preceding him have left no mark by which we may distinguish them from any other country gentry of impressive pedigree and moderate fortune. They must, however, have been more or less in touch with the affairs of their respective days, for the second John Grahame of Claverhouse was brother-in-law to the famous Cardinal Beton, and his grandson, Sir William Grahame of Claverhouse, was one of the curators of the great Montrose and witness of his marriage contract. This Sir William’s grandson, another William Grahame of Claverhouse, in 1645—the year of Montrose’s victory at Kilsyth and overthrow at Philiphaugh—married Magdalen Carnegie,

¹ “Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland,” p. 52.

² See Pedigree.

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cousin and namesake of Montrose's wife, and daughter of Montrose's faithful ally, James, Lord Lour. In 1647 Lord Lour, in virtue of his loyal services to Charles I., was created Earl of Ethie, a title subsequently changed by him for that of Northesk, by which it will be more convenient to refer to him. Lord Northesk, friend and follower of Montrose, was grandfather of Claverhouse; and as he lived to the ripe age of eighty-eight his grandson thus had ample opportunity of hearing reminiscences of the "Great Marquess" he was afterwards to emulate.¹

The boy Claverhouse, his brother David, and his sisters Magdalen and Anna would, we may reasonably assume, have spent some happy hours of their childhood under the grand-paternal roof of Ethie, an old red sandstone castle, haunted, so says tradition, by the ghost of Cardinal Beton, who had long ago been Abbot of Arbroath close by.

It is a common maxim of heredity that great men not infrequently inherit some of their most striking characteristics from their mothers or their grandmothers; but unfortunately we know little about Claverhouse's mother, and still less of his grandmother.²

His dark complexion and dark hair apparently were heritages from his mother's side of the house³; but as for his character, the sources whence it was derived must always be a mystery. He alone of all his family attained to that pre-eminence which marks the difference between genius and mere talent. The finished product we shall see in the campaign of 1689; and, for the sake of what we know he ultimately became, we now must try and trace his childhood, and the forming of his principles, from the few landmarks that the history of his country and surroundings will afford.

¹ Lord Northesk died at Ethie, January 8, 1667, at which date Claverhouse was in his nineteenth year.

² His maternal grandmother was Magdalen Haliburton of Pitcur, widow of John Erskine of Dun. She died before Claverhouse was born, and when Claverhouse was about four years of age his grandfather married again, another widow, Marjory Maule, whose first husband had been William Nairne of Sandford. (Fraser's "History of the Carnegies," vol. ii., pp. 351-352.)

³ I judge this from the portraits of the first and second Earls of Northesk, at Ethie Castle.

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Born in 1648,¹ the opening years of his life were those in which the Royalist party was sunk in the profoundest gloom ; when Montrose—declaring that he lived only to avenge the death of Charles I.—went forth on his last daring enterprise, and was betrayed into the hands of his enemy.

At a period when many Scottish Cavaliers, broken in spirit and ruined in fortune, were flying abroad—rather than live in a country first ruled by the Covenanters who had sold their King, and then conquered by the English Puritans who had beheaded him—there can be little doubt that an impressionable child must have made early acquaintance with the stern realities of life and the bitterness of the times.

In the spring of 1650, when Claverhouse was under two years old, Montrose, the greatest of all Scottish soldiers, perished on the scaffold. In the autumn of the same year came the terrible defeat of the Scots by Cromwell at Dunbar, inaugurating a time of abject misery for the afflicted country. The Presbyterian clergy—who, strange as it may seem, were then all-powerful on military councils, and ruled the generals with rods of iron—in their fanatic zeal not only had insisted on the army being “purged” of every officer suspected of the slightest Royalist leanings, but also had compelled the Covenanting General Leslie to abandon his position on the heights and meet the foe down on the plain. The Scottish army—ill-disciplined, ill-officered, and utterly demoralised by those internal jealousies and sharp dissensions which were inevitably part of its peculiar character—had not a chance against the generalship of Cromwell. Though the Covenanters numbered 18,000 Foot and 8000 Horse, whereas Cromwell’s army was reduced by sickness to 11,000 in all, Cromwell’s commanding genius more than atoned for lack of numbers,

¹ As his parents were married in 1645, and his sisters are believed to have been their eldest children, 1648 is the probable date for Claverhouse’s birth. Professor Terry points out that on June 24, 1669, Claverhouse, on the ground that he was still a minor, was deprived of a commission that had been bestowed on him in the previous February as a Commissioner of Excise and J.P. for Forfarshire; on September 2 in the same year he was reappointed, having presumably attained his majority in the interval. These details, and the fact that on August 5, 1669, he had a precept for infefting him as his father’s heir in the lands of Easter Brighton, have enabled Professor Terry to calculate that he was born probably some time in July. (Terry, p. 6.)

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and the battle has been characterised as "the greatest action fought by an English army since Agincourt."¹

There is no need to go through the campaign, of which this was the opening scene; sufficient to say that Scotland, after maintaining her haughty independence during many centuries, was at last bowed down beneath the English yoke. Such was the outcome of that short-sighted policy Montrose had combated with all his strength and fervour from the moment he divined where it would ultimately lead. His warnings had fallen on deaf ears; and within a twelvemonth of his death Scotland was in the English victor's hands right up to Inverness.

The last stronghold in the Lowlands to defy the conqueror was the town of Dundee, less than a dozen miles from Claverhouse's home, Glenogilvy. The Puritan General Monck did not err on the side of mercy; eight hundred men and a couple of hundred women and children were put to the sword, and the Governor, Lumsden of Montquhanie, was shot in cold blood an hour after he had received quarter.²

It is only fair to add that slaying in cold blood and violating promises of quarter were habits not restricted to the English soldiery. The most notorious instance in the Scottish army is the case of the Irishmen who surrendered after Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh.³ In the eyes of the Covenanters—as well as of the English Puritans—it was a scriptural obligation to smite the Amalekite, and when the Amalekites were Irish Catholics the obligation was redoubled. To have kept faith with Papists would have been sheer sinful folly from the standpoint of "God's chosen people." Claverhouse as a boy is certain to have been told of the Philiphaugh incident, and of the way a noted minister of the Kirk stood watching the prisoners fall, exclaiming in tones of unctuous joy, "The

¹ Fortescue, "History of the British Army," vol. i., p. 245.

² "Sir James Turner's Memoirs," p. 4. Turner's wife was in Dundee at the time of the siege. Turner had been in Lumsden's regiment. General Monck gave Lady Magdalen Grahame of Claverhouse, whom he calls "Lady Carniggess of the Glenn," an "order of Protection," August 30, 1651 ("Duntrune Papers," Terry, p. 123), so she and her children were in no physical danger, but the mental horror of the situation must have been extreme.

³ September 13, 1645.

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wark gangs bonnily on," a phrase which passed into a proverb.¹ Very similar was the fate of the Macdonalds who rashly surrendered to Leslie at Dunavertie. The Covenanting General would have spared them, but "that excellent man" his chaplain threatened him with the curse of God if he should fail to wipe out the Malignants. The ministers, with their grim power of excommunication, could terrorise even hardy soldiers such as Leslie, and to propitiate the Kirk the prisoners were forthwith promptly massacred, Leslie remarking in disgust to his spiritual tyrant, "Well, Mr John, have you gotten your fill of blood for once?"²

The unhappy condition of Scotland under the dominion of the Covenant and the Commonwealth was sorely lamented by the majority of Scotsmen, and a letter from Principal Baillie, written at the end of 1658, when Claverhouse was about ten years of age, sounds a mournful and almost despairing note :

"The country lies very quiet ; it is exceedingly poor ; trade is naught ; the English have all the money. Our noble families are almost gone. Lennox has little in Scotland unsold ; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the barony of Hamilton, is sold ; Argyll can pay little annual rent for 700,000 or 800,000 merks, and he is no more drowned in debt than in public hatred, almost of all, both Scots and English. The Gordons are gone ; the Douglasses are little better ; Eglinton and Glencairn on the brink of breaking ; many of our chief families estates are cracking, nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the time."³

Claverhouse's family doubtless shared in the national poverty and depression, and his boyhood must have been

¹ Balhaldie, p. 76. See also Guthry's "Memoirs," p. 203, 2nd ed., 1748, and Munro's "Spirit of Calumny and Slander," pp. 10 and 11.

² "This was reported by many that heard it," says Guthrie, who represents Argyll as joining his word to that of the chaplain. Sir James Turner ("Dugald Dalgetty") was serving then in the Covenanting army, and he says that the minister "never ceased to tempt" Leslie to bloodshed. ("Memoirs," p. 46.) See also Sharpe's edition of Kirkton's "History of the Church of Scotland," pp. 45, 49. Mr John Nave (Neave, or Nevoy), the clerical butcher in question, was chaplain to Lord Loudoun, and (so Wodrow says) "much valued by his lordship."

³ "Principal Baillie's Letters," vol. ii., Letter 198, p. 425.

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shadowed by the misery of the times. If we may believe one of the few Whigs who in the eighteenth century dared to express some admiration for the execrated champion of the fallen dynasty, he from "his earliest youth" used to cheer and inspirit himself by seeking the Highland bards and listening to their songs, and also by studying the "ancient poets, historians and orators" who inspired him with "love of the great actions they praise and describe."¹ Lucan seems to have been a favourite with him, and Lucan, it should be remembered, had been the best-beloved poet of Montrose, who had himself appeared to Cardinal de Retz as the one man of that age recalling the glories of classic antiquity and deserving to rank with the heroes of Plutarch.

It may readily be divined that not even the deeds of Cæsar or Pompeius would have had so stimulating an effect upon Claverhouse's young imagination as the brilliant career and recent tragic death of his famous kinsman. All through childhood and boyhood he must have heard stories of Montrose's exploits, and would moreover have heard them from some of the very men who had shared in the hardships and triumphs of a campaign which was without a parallel in contemporary European history.

Even now after two centuries and a half the personal magnetism of Montrose still makes itself felt, magnetism so strong that it did not fail him in the hour of his greatest humiliation. When he was bound with ropes and, on his way to prison, paraded through the streets of Edinburgh in the hangman's cart, an onlooker relates how there "appeared in him such majesty" and courage, that "those common women who had lost their husbands and children in his wars, and who were hired to stone him, were upon the sight of him so astonished and moved that their intended curses turned into tears and prayers; so that the next day all the ministers preached against them for not stoning and reviling him."²

¹ Dalrymple, "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. ii., Part II., Book II., p. 73.

² "A true and perfect relation of the most remarkable passages and speeches at and before the death of his Excellence James Graham, Marquis of Montrose etc., etc." Printed 1650.

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Noble, gallant, and chivalrous in life, the ignominious punishment and death designed to mortify and humble him served only still further to reveal his greatness. In the narratives of eye-witnesses the drama of his last days is vividly reflected. The long drawn-out humiliation, from the 4th of May when he was betrayed until the 21st when he was hanged, the countless insults heaped upon him by the most implacable of enemies, we see both through the eyes of those to whom he was that "detestable bloody murderer and excommunicated traitor James Graham" and those who idolised him as loyalty and heroism incarnate. Even his most virulent detractors, in their complaints against his "lofty and aspiring temper," convey unwittingly some faint suggestion of his dignity and charm. "We stayed awhile with him about his soul's condition," records that Covenanting worthy, the Reverend Robert Trail, "but we found him continuing in his old pride and taking very ill what was spoken to him, saying, 'I pray you, gentlemen, let me die in peace.'" His manner, says another of these godly personages, was "too airy and volage," not "suitable to the gravity of a nobleman," or a man about to die; especially when death was to take a brutal and degrading form, well calculated to be surpassingly repulsive to one whose proud fastidiousness was as remarkable as his abundant vigour and vitality. But no matter what he may have felt of inward horror and disgust that he, the King's Lieutenant-General, was to die a death reserved for lowest criminals and malefactors, he preserved a lofty equanimity which must have detracted not a little from the triumph of his executioners.

"What my carriage was in this country many of you may bear witness," he had said at his mock trial, when angrily reviled by the Lord Chancellor Loudoun as a "cruel and inhuman butcher." "Disorders in arms cannot be prevented; but they were no sooner known than punished. . . . I dare here avow in the presence of God that never a hair of Scotsman's head that I could save fell to the ground. . . . And therefore I desire you to lay aside your prejudice; and consider me as a Christian in relation to the justice of the

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quarrel, and as a subject, in relation to my royal master's command, and as your neighbour in relation to the many of your lives I have preserved in battle. And be not too rash, but let me be judged by the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and the laws of this land. If otherwise—I do appeal from you to the righteous Judge of the world who one day must be your Judge and mine, and Who always gives out righteous judgments.”¹

In reply to this he was commanded to go down upon his knees and hear his sentence; and the sentence—read by the Lord Clerk Register, Johnstone of Warriston—was that he be hanged and quartered, that his head be set up on an iron pin upon the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his dismembered limbs nailed over the city gates of Dundee, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen.

This he heard with an “unmoved countenance,” and he was forthwith taken back to prison where “the ministers with their fresh assaults invaded him,” striving by their vituperative rhetoric to aggravate the horror of his doom. But he declared that he was much beholden to the Parliament for the tribute they had paid him, for he thought it more honour to have his head upon the Tolbooth in so just a quarrel than to have his picture in the King's bedchamber. “And lest my loyalty be forgotten,” he said, “ye have appointed five of the most eminent towns to bear witness of it to posterity.”

It was over the South Gate of Dundee that one of his arms was nailed; and Claverhouse as a boy must often have looked up with awestruck eyes at the grim relic, and must have heard from those who had been present on the fatal 21st of May, how loftily Montrose had gone forth to his doom, bearing himself with so much “beauty, majesty,” and dignity “as amazed the beholders.” His last words were, “May God have mercy on this afflicted kingdom.”

All this must be vividly remembered in striving to form a comprehensive estimate of Claverhouse; for the influence of Montrose, the dead but ever-living hero, is the keynote to his life and character—a character which was never en-

¹ Wigton MSS. Napier, “Memoirs of Montrose,” vol. ii., p. 796.

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tirely revealed until the last nine months of his life, for it was not till then that he had adequate occasion to display the powers that were in him. Till then he manifested chiefly the qualities of an able, energetic, and efficient regimental officer and commander, a tactful and diplomatic though honest courtier, and a polished man of the world. It was in the time of national crisis that he was to prove himself, as one of his followers said, "a new phoenix risen from the ashes of Montrose."

It has been declared that the last days of Claverhouse, his passionate devotion to the losing cause, and his heroic death, redeemed a cold and cruel life; but such an assertion is historically misleading, and is moreover inconsistent with the facts of human nature. A political upheaval does not violently change a man's entire disposition; on the contrary, events can only bring out that which is inherent, and therefore we must read the whole of Claverhouse's earlier career by the bright light of the revealing facts of his campaign of 1689.

"Your Majesty and all the world shall see," the "Great Marquess" had written to Charles II., "that it is not your fortunes in you, but your Majesty in whatsoever fortune that I make sacred to serve."¹ And that the King required this devotion by abandoning Montrose to the fury of the Covenanters, is one of the most grievous blots on his ease-loving and easy-going character. In 1661 by way of reparation he ordered his champion's scattered remains to be gathered together, and, after eleven years, to be given the Christian burial which the fanaticism of the Covenant had denied to such an arch-Malignant. The gorgeous pageantry of this state funeral "at his Majesty's own expense"² must have been one of the events of Claverhouse's boyhood. His cousins of Fintry and Duntrune took part in the ceremony; and his neighbour Sir Robert Grahame of Morphie (who was afterwards to marry his eldest sister Magdalen) carried Montrose's coronet in the procession.³

¹ Montrose's last letter to the King. State Papers. Dom. Interreg., vol. ix., No. 16.

² "Mercurius Caledonius" (Napier, "Memoirs of Montrose," vol. ii., p. 829).

³ "True Funeralls of the Great Lord Marquis of Montrose" (ed. 1720, pp. vi., vii., x.).

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As Montrose on the scaffold had carefully stated that the King's commands to him had been "most just," it is unlikely that Claverhouse could have had any realisation of Charles's duplicity; the grim irony of the magnificent interment would therefore not have been apparent to him; the ceremony must rather have seemed a triumph of light over darkness, and have tended still further to develop that "hereditary loyalty" to which his earliest biographer alludes admiringly.¹

The same anonymous biographer praises his "liberal education," and his "considerable progress" in mathematics and polite learning. Like Montrose he was a student at St Andrews, and he was probably the "Johannes Grahame" who, on July the 27th, 1661, graduated Master of Arts, having been admitted on February the 29th, 1660, into the third year's class at St Salvator's. Among the other signatures in the Matriculation Roll there also appear the names of David Grahame and Colin Mackenzie, the former presumably Claverhouse's brother, and the latter his lifelong friend, the younger brother of Mackenzie of Rosehaugh the famous Advocate.

David and Claverhouse, when they took their degrees, would have been aged twelve and thirteen respectively. The practice of sending boys to the Universities at such an early age is bewailed in the then fashionable and now seldom read "Compleat Gentleman":

"These young things of twelve, thirteen, fourteen, have no more care than to expect the next carrier, and where to sup on Fridays and fasting nights; no further thought of study than to trim up their studies with pictures, and place the fairest books in openest view, which, poor lads, they scarce ever opened."

If the boy is father to the man we may safely infer that Claverhouse's schoolboy interests were not bounded by the advent of the "next carrier."

¹"Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 4.

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Even now, St Andrews is infinitely suggestive to those who have a thought to spare for the past. Its castle by the sea, with subterranean passage, gruesome dungeons, and countless historic memories; its stately wrecked cathedral, which took over a hundred and sixty years to build; its venerable colleges and grey old houses, have a potent fascination for the imaginative mind. For Claverhouse the place would have had the additional interest of association with his own people: the first Primate of St Andrews was a younger son of Sir William Grahame of Kincardine, and it will be remembered that the John Grahame of Claverhouse of Queen Mary's day had married a sister of the last Catholic archbishop, the able and execrated Cardinal Beton, whose murder in his castle at St Andrews—one of the first exploits of the Reformers—was destined to supply an illustrious precedent to the Covenanters when they slew Archbishop Sharpe.¹

Moreover Bishop Kennedy, the founder of St Salvator's college, at which Claverhouse was a student, had been a son of Kennedy of Dunure by Robert III.'s royal daughter the Lady Mary Stuart, who by a subsequent marriage was the ancestress of Claverhouse.

The college life of the future Lord Dundee, while passing through the respective stages of *bejant*, *semi*, *tertian*, and *magistrand*, can only be pictured from what we know of his surroundings and his character. The details of Montrose's boyhood have survived; we know that he read romances, and delighted in Raleigh's "History of the World," won prizes at archery, played chess, billiards and golf; gave largess to poets, beggars, and "poor Irish," and to the college gardener who supplied him with flowers to decorate his room.² In 1660-1661 St Andrews was probably much the same as it had been in Montrose's day, and though in 1658-1659

¹ In "A Hind let Loose," one of the favourite books of the "godly," the author rejoices over the murder of Cardinal Beton, and says in an aggrieved manner: "Yet now such a fact committed upon such another bloody beast, the Cardinal Prelate of Scotland eight years ago, is generally condemned as a Horrid Murder" (ed. 1687, p. 24; ed. 1764, p. 30).

² Napier, "Memoirs of Montrose," vol. i., chapters iii. and iv.

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a gloomy antipathy to sport may have prevailed, we can suppose that after the Restoration Claverhouse in the intervals of his studies amused himself, as Montrose had done, with such diversions as hunting, hawking, archery and horsemanship. There were race-meetings at Cupar, conveniently near, and Claverhouse who was afterwards notorious for his love of horses, and whom we find some years later accompanying Charles II. to Newmarket, may perhaps have gained his first experiences of the turf while he was at St Andrews University.

With regard to his acquirements as a student, and to the often-quoted and often-derided phrase about his "liberal education,"¹ it is interesting and perhaps significant to observe that some of the warmest contemporary eulogies of his character and talents come from eminent scholars, such as Dr Archibald Pitcairn, Dr Alexander Monro, and George Martine of Clermont. While at St Andrews he attracted the attention and approval of Archbishop Sharpe²; and it is worthy of remark that the idea that he was an illiterate savage—so violently set forth by John Hill Burton³—is of comparatively modern growth, and probably sprang from Sir Walter Scott's disparaging remark about the spelling of the Drumclog dispatch, a remark which is the more surprising as Sir Walter surely had enough acquaintance with letters and papers of the seventeenth century to be as well aware as we are that in those easy-going days men spelt according to the inclination of the moment. A gentleman was not expected to spell like a printer, and neither Queensberry, Lauderdale, Douglas, Mackenzie, Fountainhall, nor any other of Claverhouse's contemporaries, ever attempted to restrict themselves to a uniform standard. Why Claverhouse alone should have been ridiculed for not being in advance of his time in this respect it is not easy to understand; but Scott, acutely conscious of his own Jacobite prejudices and

¹ "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 4.

² "A Short Account of Scotland," by the Rev. T. Morer, p. 95, 1702, and the "Continuation" (1688-1705) of Bishop Collier's Supplement to Morer's "Great Historical Dictionary."

³ See Chapter X. *supra*.

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always wishful to be generous to the other side, where Claverhouse was concerned went further in his concessions than justice required. In his day there were many wise and virtuous Caledonians who would have considered it a flagrant impropriety to question the traditionary Whig version of Claverhouse's career, or to give that "bloody persecutor" the benefit of any doubt. Even now the enthusiastic eulogy of his abilities by Drummond of Balhaldie is apt to be resolutely ignored by a certain section of his countrymen, though to an unprejudiced mind it would seem that Balhaldie, whose father and grandfather fought under Claverhouse's leadership in 1689, might reasonably be supposed to write with a more intimate knowledge of his character than the Wodrows and Walkers whose traditionary versions of his crimes have met with such a ready credence.

During the last few months of Claverhouse's life, his most powerful ally and devoted friend in the Highlands was Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel. "They both loved fighting and adventurous actions," says Lochiel's grandson, "and were never known to differ on any one point"; and Claverhouse in his magnanimous fashion declared that he could never have "managed an army so different in customs, humour and discipline from those with whom he was bred" if it had not been for the lessons he daily had from the famous Highlander. Lochiel's daughter Margaret had married Alexander Drummond of Balhaldie,¹ and it was their third son John who—with a laudable desire to "make the Camerons renowned to all posterity for their loyalty, fidelity, and extraordinary courage"—wrote the memoirs which give so vivid a picture of the campaign of 1689.² These memoirs cannot be called contempor-

¹ Born 1660, created a Knight and Baronet by "James III.," 1740, died 1749. (*Jacobite Peerage*, p. 96.) His territorial name is variously spelt Balhaldy, Balhaldys, Bochaldy, Balhaldies and Balhaldie. I adopt the latter, as used in a receipt signed by Balhaldie for Lochiel, and preserved in the Cluny MSS. ("Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle," No. III., pp. 28, 29.)

² See *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 97. For brevity throughout the present work I shall cite these memoirs under the heading of *Balbaldie*, although John Drummond as a younger son would not, strictly speaking, have been entitled to his father's territorial designation.

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ary,¹ yet as their author was well acquainted with many men who had taken part in the Highland campaign, his opinion though not infallible is nevertheless worth an attentive hearing. Claverhouse, he says,

“seemed formed by Heaven for great undertakings, and was in an eminent degree possessed of all those qualities that accomplish the gentleman, the statesman, and the soldier. [Belonging to a family] fruitful of heroes and illustrious by the great persons that have adorned it, [he had] an education suitable to his birth and genius. After he had finished the course of his studies at home,² he travelled into France for his further improvement; and having a strong inclination to acquire some knowledge in the military art, he served several years as a volunteer in the French army under the famous Marshal Turenne.”³

Such is the elliptical manner in which history used to be written, and, so far as Claverhouse is concerned, we can add little with certainty. There is nothing to guide us except another tantalisingly brief reference to the “reputation and applause” he gained “in the French service,”⁴ and the name of John Grahame as a junior lieutenant in Sir William Lockhart’s regiment of Foot, in July 1672.⁵ We can hazard a conjecture that this John Grahame may have been Claverhouse; for Lockhart’s was a Scottish regiment⁶ which, in 1672, followed the Duke of Monmouth to Turenne’s standard and helped to fight the battles of France.

In the collection of the present Sir Simon Lockhart of Lee there is a portrait of Claverhouse, believed to have been in possession of the Lockhart family since the time when it

¹ Lady Tullibardine thinks they were written before 1729. (“*Milit. Hist. of Perthshire*,” p. 254, note.)

² On February 11, 1669, he was appointed a Commissioner of Excise and Justice of the Peace for Forfarshire, but on June 24 the appointment was cancelled on the ground that he was still a minor. On September 2, 1669, “having attained his majority in the interval, the cancelled commission was restored.” (Terry, p. 13.)

³ Balhaldie, pp. 273, 274.

⁴ “*Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee*,” p. 4. London, 1714.

⁵ Dalton’s *English Army Lists*, vol. i., p. 121.

⁶ Ten companies; commissions dated March 13 and 14, and July 25, 1672. (Dalton’s “*Scots Army*,” p. 95.)

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was painted ; and this lends some colour to the supposition that Sir William Lockhart of Lee, Sir Simon's ancestor, was Claverhouse's first commanding officer.¹

Sir William Lockhart—third son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, Lord Justice Clerk—was a man of remarkable force of character, and very varied experiences. Running away from school in anger against a domineering pedagogue, and having no inclination to submit to a still sterner father, he at the age of thirteen made his way to Leith and thence to Holland, where he enlisted in a Scottish regiment. In the following year he went to Dantzic, where he joined his uncle, Sir George Douglas, Ambassador from England to the Courts of Sweden and Poland. On the death of Douglas in 1636, young Lockhart, aged sixteen, decided to return home, so he brought back the body of his uncle to Scotland, acting the part of chief mourner in “the magnificent funerals that were given to his remains.”² The parental attitude, however, remaining hostile, Lockhart, without vouchsafing to his father any information as to his future movements, crossed over to France and joined the French army as a volunteer. Fortune and the Queen-Mother befriended him, and he soon won a commission as a Captain of Cavalry. At the outbreak of the Civil War in Scotland, Lockhart again returned, and this time he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord Lanark's regiment in the Covenanting army. When Charles I. took refuge with the Scots, he knighted Lockhart in hopes of securing him as a friend and using his influence “to procure the best terms possible” for Montrose, who after a series of victories had been surprised and overthrown at Philiphaugh. Invading England with the Duke of Hamilton, Lockhart was destined to add to his varied experiences the new one of a year's imprisonment in an English fortress. On his subsequent arrival in Scotland he was appointed “General of the Horse” by the Committee of the Estates ; but Argyll—abhorring the thought of too much power in the hands of any one man,

¹The picture appears to be a contemporary copy of the famous Melville portrait, which is traditionally supposed to have been painted at the time of Claverhouse's foreign service. See App. II. *supra*.

²Noble's “House of Cromwell,” vol. ii., pp. 236-237.

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unless, of course, that one man were himself—brought influence to bear to have Montgomery and Baillie, two other generals, joined with Lockhart in equal commission. A multiplicity of commanders had always been the curse of Covenanting armies, and the hapless General Baillie, when obliged to take the field against Montrose, had been accompanied by a committee, which he was expected to consult and satisfy before he entered into action. Not Mars himself, if forced to follow out the notions of this most opinionated and incompetent committee, could have gained honour as a warrior in such circumstances, so Baillie's predicament was as unhappy as it was ridiculous. Lockhart, taking warning by this and similar follies on the part of the authorities, absolutely declined to concern himself any further in the affairs of an army run in flagrant opposition no less to every military principle than to the elementary rules of common-sense.

After the English conquest of Scotland, Lockhart's abilities and force of character were promptly recognised by Cromwell, who sent him as his Ambassador to France. In this capacity he acquitted himself very favourably, and he also won further distinction for the British arms at Mardyke and Dunkirk, of which latter town he was appointed Governor. At the Restoration the governorship was taken from him, and for over ten years he was not officially employed. In 1671 the Duke of Lauderdale, an old acquaintance of his, persuaded Charles II. to send him as Envoy Extraordinary to the Protestant Princes in Germany; and in the same year he was again Ambassador to the Court of France. As much soldier as diplomat, he won fresh laurels in the war against the Dutch, and in 1673, at the siege of Maestricht—at which presumably young Claverhouse may have been present—he gave the Duke of Monmouth one of his first lessons in the military art. Such was the remarkable career of the high-spirited boy who had rebelled against paternal tyranny and carved out for himself the way to fame and fortune.

Personal contact with distinguished men of action must, to the aspirant for kindred honours, invariably be of greater value than the merely academic opportunities of education;

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so we may feel assured the future Lord Dundee did not neglect the lessons to be learnt from the success of Lockhart—lessons of persistent application, strenuous industry and tireless resolution.

Though no records can be found of Claverhouse's doings in his earliest campaign, we nevertheless should make a survey of the war of 1672, for its connection with his after-life is closer than at first seems evident, and we shall more easily understand the causes which contributed so largely to the Revolution if from the start we realise the rivalry between the Dutch and British and the part which France played in the contest.

It must be remembered that though no one talked then of the British Empire, and those at home paid little heed to what took place in "the plantations" overseas, adventurous mariners and traders had long since carried British interests into very various directions. Amongst the far-away dominions of his Majesty King Charles were numbered the New England States, Maryland and Virginia as well as Acadia, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The enterprising Quaker William Penn, the son of Cromwell's famous admiral, was soon to found the state of Pennsylvania; the East India Company, incorporated in 1599, had received in 1660 a second charter, conferring fuller powers, especially in military matters. Dominica, St Lucia, St Vincent and Tobago were subject to the British crown, though not yet wrested from the Caribs; Barbados, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St Kitts and Jamaica were colonised from Great Britain; the Bermudas were English property; one English company had received a charter for the settlement of Carolina, and another (the Royal African) had fixed its headquarters at Cape Coast Castle.¹ England however had formidable rivals, and none more vigorous than the Dutch who—evading the restrictions imposed on them by Cromwell in 1653—had indulged in violent aggressions both in the East Indies and on the Guinea Coast. In response to these attacks, Charles II. had sent an expedition against Dutch America,

¹ Fortescue, "History of the British Army," vol. i., p. 295.



John Graham of Claverhouse
from the Portrait at Melville House

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considerable service. At the same time it suffices to say that, when James and Henry threw their weight into the scale in favour of the Stuarts, Charles promptly made peace with the Dutch. James Churchill—the future victor of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet—returned home and became a Lieutenant of Foot; while Claverhouse, “wishing to know the services of different nations,”¹ joined the Dutch standard, in company with Hugh Mackay of Scourie whom seven years later he was to defeat so signally at Killiecrankie.

The peace between England and Holland had been concluded on February the 12th, 1678, when Holland paid a war indemnity and recognised the independence of the English flag from Norway to Cape Horn. The belief as there was nothing to prevent “many gentle men of merit and family” offering their services to the Prince of Orange,² and accordingly we find Claverhouse mentioned³ as one of those “who had entered themselves volunteers in the Prince’s own company of Guards”⁴ before the battle of Senefre.⁵

“He was then [says Balhaldie] an Esquire, under the title of John Grahame of Claverhouse, for the civility of his parts, and the delicacy and justness of his understanding and judgment, joined with a certain vigour of mind and activity of body, distinguished him in such a manner from all others of his rank, that though he lived in a superior character yet he acquired the love and esteem of all his equals, as well as of those who had the advantage of him in civility and sports. In this station he had an opportunity of adding to his reputation by performing a very remarkable service to the Prince of Orange, then his master; for [the Prince] being,

¹ Dalrymple, “Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,” vol. III., Part II., Book II., p. 14, ed. 1790.

² Scots Brigade, Scot. Hist. Soc., vol. I., p. 470.

³ In Captain Carleton’s “Memoirs,” formerly attributed to Devoe, but now accepted as genuine (pp. 12-13).

⁴ This bears out Dalrymple’s statement that Claverhouse “entered the profession of arms, with an opinion he ought to know the services of different nations and the duties of different posts,” and that where he could not obtain a commission he fought as a volunteer. (“Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland,” vol. III., Part II., Book II., p. 14, ed. 1790.)

⁵ The battle about twenty five miles south of Brussels. The battle was against the French under Coudoy and was indecisive.



John Grahame of Claverhouse
from the Portrait at Melville House

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in the year 1674, dismounted by the enemy at the battle of St Nuff [Seneffe] and in the greatest danger of being either killed or made a prisoner, the gallant Mr Grahame rescued him out of their hands, mounted him upon his own horse and carried him safely off"; for which exploit, adds Balhaldie, he was promoted to a captaincy.¹

The incident of Claverhouse at the outset of his career saving the life of the man who was afterwards his strongest political adversary is too picturesque to have passed unchallenged; Macaulay and others, who without analysis or inquiry repeated the most marvellous legends of his fiendish cruelty, had scruples about believing this story which put "the great Whig deliverer" under so heavy an obligation to the champion of King James.² But that William of Orange was indebted to Claverhouse for his life is clearly evident from a reference in the narrative poem of James Philip of Almerieclose, who, being not only Claverhouse's kinsman,³ but his neighbour in Forfarshire, and afterwards his Standard-Bearer in the Highlands, must have known more about him than Macaulay, who in the first edition of his history did not even call him by his right name. The *Grameid*, however, does not locate the incident at Seneffe, but vaguely refers to it as happening when William of Orange was flying "on wearied steed, through Belgic marsh from the conquering troops of lily-bearing France."⁴ It may be wished that

¹ Some verses called "The Muse's New Year's Gift and Hansell to the right honoured Captain John Grahame of Claverhouse," January 1683 (printed from the MS. in "Fugitive Scottish Poetry of the 17th Century," 1825), merit quotation only for the sake of the facts to which they refer:—

"My Muse will sing the glories of his fame :
From great Montrose he is the brightest beam
That gilds with lustre our north hemisphere; . . .
War was his early mistress; his first aim
Through untrod ways to court uncommon fame . . .
Unto the allies' camp he does resort,
And is advanced to the great Orange Court . . .
I saw the man who at St Neff did see
His conduct, prowess, martial gallantry," etc., etc.

² "A romance which it seems strange that even a child should believe to be true," says Macaulay (vol. iii., p. 269, note).

³ His mother was Margaret Grahame of Duntrune, second cousin to Claverhouse.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 202.

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instead of writing an epic poem in Latin the Standard-Bearer had given us a simple memoir in English prose, for his intimate acquaintance with Claverhouse would have enabled him to settle many a controversy that has long been productive of rancour among writers and fatigue among readers. As the battle of Seneffe took place in the summer of 1674, and Claverhouse remained in the Dutch service until the later part of 1677, even if it was not at Seneffe that he rescued William of Orange there would still have been ample time and opportunity for him to render some especial service to that intrepid prince before the war had reached its close.

Sir Robert Douglas says that Claverhouse "got the command of a troop of Horse,"¹ and served with "great reputation as long as he stayed in that country."²

It is to be regretted that the only two of his youthful letters which have come to light give no information about his doings in the Low Countries, and tell us nothing except that he was in Scotland in March 1676, purchasing a horse from Stewart of Grandtully, and exulting in the possession of "four of the best grew-hounds in Scotland." "And you be a good fellow," he adds persuasively to Grandtully, "you will send me a setting dog, and then I would be a Prince."³

Early in April he was back in the Netherlands,⁴ but in the following year he returned to Scotland. He had gone abroad in accordance with the fashion of his day—in which a few years' foreign service was regarded as a suitable finish to a liberal education, and a gentleman's sword was held to be temporarily at the disposal of any prince with whom his own country did not happen to be at war—so his return

¹ This is confirmed by Professor Terry who has learnt from the Assistant Keeper of the Dutch Archives that on November the 24th, 1676, the "Baron de Claverhous" received a commission as ritmeester. (Terry, p. 29.)

² Douglas' *Peerage*, ed. 1764, p. 214.

³ Postscript to letter dated Edinburgh, March 1676. ("Red Book of Grandtully," vol. ii., p. 229.) The request was complied with, and the second letter is one of thanks.

⁴ James Graham, Claverhouse's chamberlain, writing on April 4, 1676, to Stewart of Grandtully, says that Claverhouse had meant to have written himself but was "strained" for time, as he had been obliged to sail on Saturday, March 30, earlier than he had intended, and so had gone in haste. The horse he had bought from Grandtully had been giving him "good satisfaction." (*Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 230.)

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home after some half-dozen years' continental experience seems very natural ; but, as the Peace of Nimeguen was not signed till 1678, his departure from the Dutch service in 1677 has been considered to require explanation.

The story runs (if I may borrow Macaulay's convenient formula) that the Prince of Orange gave to Mackay of Scourie—the future Whig General in the Highland War of 1689—the command of a Scottish regiment that had been promised to Claverhouse in reward for his services at Seneffe, and that Claverhouse in consequence declined to stay any longer in the service of a prince who did not keep his word. This story, circulated some time after Claverhouse's death in arms against the Prince of Orange, comes down to us with several variations ; but that Rumour in this case was a lying jade seems indicated by the fact that Claverhouse returned to England with a letter of recommendation from the Prince of Orange to the Duke of York¹ ; and it is a curious irony of chance that William, who was ultimately to dethrone and ruin James, should have introduced to him thus early in the day the very man who was to be the most whole-hearted champion of the doomed Stuart cause.

In September 1677 the Prince of Orange came to England, to marry his cousin Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York ; and it would seem as though he may have testified verbally to Claverhouse's military capacities, for early in the new year Claverhouse was offered a lieutenant's commission in the Duke of York's Regiment of Horse.

The first troop was being raised by the young Marquess of Montrose,² who wrote to Claverhouse in complimentary terms such as indicate that he was even then a marked man :

“ You cannot imagine how overjoyed I should be to have any employment at my disposal that were worthy of your acceptance ; nor how much I am ashamed to offer you anything so far below your merit as that of being my Lieutenant ; though I be fully persuaded that it will be a step to a much more considerable employment, and will give

¹ Morer, “ Short Account of Scotland,” p. 95.

² James, seventh Earl and third Marquess, grandson of the “ Great Marquess.”

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you occasion to confirm the Duke in the just and good opinion which I do assure you he has of you."

While apologising for "this mean and inconsiderable offer," Montrose, in order to "magnify" it all he can, adds that he is going to raise the troop in Scotland, and that "none but gentlemen" are to ride in it. Also he has been promised speedy promotion, so that very probably Claverhouse will soon step into his place.¹

Writing at the same time to Graham of Monorgan,² Montrose says that the Duke of York

"has a very good opinion of Claverhouse, and he bid me endeavour by all means to get him for my Lieutenant. Therefore I most earnestly beg that you would be pleased to represent to him the advantages he may have by being near the Duke, and by making himself better known to him. And withal assure him from me that if he will embrace this offer, he shall also share with me in my advancement and better fortune."³

In spite of the persuasive terms in which this offer was phrased, Claverhouse for some unknown reason refused it; and his first commission in the Scottish army was as captain of one of the three independent troops of Horse newly raised in the autumn of the same year.⁴ He was in excellent company, for the captains of the other two troops were Lords Home⁵ and Airlie; and Airlie must have been particularly congenial to Claverhouse on account of his distinguished record and the fact that he had enjoyed the personal friendship of the "Great Marquess." Captured by the Covenanters after the disastrous battle of Philiphaugh, and condemned to death

¹ Letters of Claverhouse, Bannatyne Club, App., p. 87. The letter is dated London, February 19, and signed, "Your most affectionate cousin and servant Montrose." Montrose's grandmother and Claverhouse's, Carnegies of Southesk and Northesk respectively, had been first cousins.

² Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forfar Militia. (Commission May 29, 1676. Warrant Book III., p. 468.)

³ Montrose had made the offer to Claverhouse on February 19, 1678, and a week later (February 27) Claverhouse had permission from the Privy Council to go abroad. (Privy Council Acta, Terry, p. 36.) Whatever his business it must have been soon concluded, as by the middle of June he was again in Scotland. (Terry, p. 37.)

⁴ Warrant Book, Scot., vol. iv., fol. 419-421.

⁵ Fifth Earl, resigned his commission 1680, *d.s.p.* 1706.

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by the Parliament at St Andrews, he had been so singularly fortunate as to escape from prison on the very eve of execution. He would seem to have been born under a favourable star, for in spite of his loyalty and "constant fidelity" to the hapless Stuarts he was to survive the Revolution, and live to a ripe old age.¹

On recording Claverhouse's appointment, a contemporary specifies that this was "a particular testimony" of the King's good will; for though his Majesty allowed the Duke of Lauderdale "to dispose of the other commissions as he thought good, yet he excepted Mr Grahame's, and it was the only exception on that occasion."²

The three troops of Horse as first commissioned were officered as follows, each troop consisting of sixty rank and file, three corporals and two trumpeters:—

CAPTAIN	LIEUTENANT	CORNET	QUARTERMASTER
Earl of Airlie	Adam Urquhart of Meldrum	Sir Francis Ruthven	(Blank commis- sion)
Earl of Home	The Master of Ross	Sir Mark Carse (<i>query</i> Kerr)	David Home of Woolstruther
John Grahame of Claverhouse	Andrew Bruce of Earlshall	Robert Grahame	James Grahame ³

¹ James, second Earl, born about 1611. The Airlie papers yield only one brief note from Claverhouse to Lord Airlie, dated Edinburgh, May 20, 1686, at which period Claverhouse was Colonel of the Scottish Horse, and was thus Airlie's commanding officer.

"MY LORD,—Be pleased to cause satisfy anything that is owing by your troop in the quarter where they are, and then order their march to Kilsyth, Campsey, or Strathblane, which three places are appointed for the quarter of your troop for this summer. So soon as they come there, the commissioners must be acquainted to set rates for grass, which must be paid accordingly. The troop must stay together, or at least in considerable numbers, for their better security so that they may move from one place to another as the advantage of the grass will allow. . . . I am, my Lord, your most humble servant,

"J. GRAHAME."

(Cortachy MSS.)

² Morer, "Short Account of Scotland," p. 95.

³ Afterwards Claverhouse's brother David was Quartermaster instead of James Grahame deceased; and William Grahame of Balquhapple (who in 1689 was to be god-father to Claverhouse's only son) was commissioned Cornet in place of Robert Grahame who had been killed at the battle of Drumclog on June 1, 1679.

A captain's pay was fourteen shillings a day, inclusive of an allowance of four shillings for two horses.

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In the biography of a soldier it is advisable to be precise in military detail, and therefore we may here conveniently enumerate the origin and duties of the various regimental grades.¹ A *Colonel* was the officer in active command of a regiment, at home or in the field. A *Lieutenant-Colonel*, originally the senior Captain of the regiment, became the Colonel's deputy. *Major* is an abbreviation of Sergeant-Major, the prefix having been dropped before 1660. The Major was to be the medium of communication between the Colonel and the regiment, performing duties now divided between the Adjutant and the Sergeant-Major. The officers of these three grades ranked as regimental field officers, and, with the *Aide-Majeur* or *Adjutant*, the *Quartermaster* and the *Surgeon*, constituted the regimental staff. Among junior officers the *Captain* bore the oldest of all military titles; and of the subalterns the *Lieutenant* acted when necessary as the Captain's locum-tenens. It will be seen that Claverhouse, on becoming Colonel, remained Captain of his former troop but had a Captain-Lieutenant under him. The *Cornet* in Cavalry and the *Ensign* in Infantry carried the troop standards. In the Life Guards there was a sub-grade of Cornet, called a *Guidon*. We had Cornets in our Cavalry till 1871, when the title of Sub-Lieutenant (now Second Lieutenant) was substituted for that of Cornet. The duties of the *Adjutant* or *Aide-Majeure* were those which are now relegated to the Regimental Corporal Major; and the seventeenth-century Adjutant received less pay than a Corporal. The *Quartermaster* in the Scottish army of Claverhouse's day was (as has already been shown) a commissioned officer, and regiments of Horse had a Quartermaster to each troop.²

As to the non-commissioned officers, their duties were much the same then as now. The main difference was that

¹ For amplification of the following particulars, see Colonel Clifford Walton's "History of the British Standing Army," and Sir George Arthur's "Story of the Household Cavalry."

² Chamberlayne ("Present State of Great Britain," 1679) says that in England the Quartermaster was a warrant-officer except in the Life and Horse Guards, in which regiments he held a commission and ranked as junior Captain, taking both command and precedence accordingly. Colonel Walton remarks that "the office must have been a highly respectable one . . . and . . . fairly remunerative . . . to judge by the style

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in the cavalry regiments both they and the rank and file were usually of gentle birth, and to be a "Private Gentleman of His Majesty's Horse" was a calling suitable to younger sons of lairds or minor barons. The pay, though usually in arrears, was relatively high.

The chaplain was among the commissioned officers, and the Articles of War of 1662 dictated that

"the Chaplains to the troops of Guards shall every day read the Common Prayers of the Church of England to the soldiers respectively under their charge, and preach to them as often as with convenience shall be thought fit; and every officer or soldier absent from Prayers shall for every absence lose a day's pay to His Majesty."¹

But this counsel of perfection could not long be maintained, and it is doubtful if so decorous a custom ever prevailed in his Majesty's Scottish Army.

At this period when Claverhouse was entering upon his military career in his own country, the Scottish army, which, in deference to popular prejudice, had been greatly reduced, was again being increased, and the King interested himself considerably in all details as to its organisation. After the peace of Nimeguen, in August 1678, the English Parliament had voted standing armies illegal, and the House of Commons then requested his Majesty to disband those forces raised since 1677. Such was the unpopularity of the army that against his inclination Charles had yielded. But the English House of Commons had no power over Scotland, and accordingly in December 1678 a new and comprehensive form of soldier's oath was instituted for use north of the Tweed:

"I, *A.B.*, do swear to be true and faithful to my Sovereign

of men seeking it, often officers on full or half pay." Regiments of Dragoons as well as Horse had a Quartermaster to every troop, but regiments of Foot had only one to the whole corps. His duties were the distribution of quarters and billets; the receipt and distribution of regimental supplies and stores, including arms and clothing, and at one time the receipt of pay from the Colonel's clerk, and the detail payments and accounts. The office of Provost Marshal was also sometimes held by the Quartermaster *ex officio*. (Colonel Walton, "British Standing Army," pp. 412-413.)

¹Quoted by Sir Geo. Arthur, "Story of the Household Cavalry," vol. i., p. 35.

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Lord King Charles, and his lawful successors, and in my station to maintain the present Government in Church and State as it is now established by law ; and to oppose (to my power) the damnable principle of taking up arms against the King, or those commissionate upon him, upon any pretext whatever. And [I swear] to be obedient in all things to His Majesty's Major-General or Commander in Chief authorised for the time being, and [I] will behave myself obediently to my superior officers in all that they shall command me for His Majesty's service. And I do further swear that I will be a true, faithful, and obedient soldier, every way performing my best endeavours for His Majesty's service, obeying all orders and submitting to all such rules and articles of war as are or shall be established by His Majesty. So help me God."¹

Captain Sir George Arthur points out that the reign of Charles II. is memorable for "the successful foundation, in face of violent and long-sustained opposition, of the existing British Army ; and for the formation within it of a *corps d'élite* which by its sterling soldierly qualities set once for all the high standard of military efficiency for which the British soldier had ever since been distinguished."²

Throughout the days of Charles and James, and even after William of Orange had taken over the reins of government, outcries against the army were both loud and frequent, standing armies being in the eyes of a large section of the populace synonymous with "Slavery, Popery, Mahometanism, Paganism, Atheism"³ and every other evil ; and this rabid dread of military power was one of the results of Cromwell's iron despotism. That Cromwell had maintained the honour of England abroad, and had struck fear into the hearts of foreign enemies and rivals, was forgotten or ignored ; while the increasing navy of France, and its consequent menace to British supremacy at sea, was also excluded from consideration. That a standing army, at best a heavy expense, was more than likely to become an instrument of tyranny, was an argu-

¹ Warrant Book for Scotland, vol. v.

² "Story of the Household Cavalry," vol. i., p. 153.

³ "A Short History of Standing Armies," 1698, p. 1.

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ment used frequently both in the House of Commons and elsewhere. The militia, it was said, would surely suffice for defensive purposes; any able-bodied man could fight if necessary; no training was needed to make a soldier; there was no danger of invasion; the King of France was building ships merely for ostentation; and while Britannia ruled the waves an army was a foolish superfluity. Such was the House of Commons form of oratory, and it bears a family likeness to much that has been heard from the same quarter in days nearer to our own.

The lot of the soldier in peace time was not an enviable one: "Be a soldier? No! We will fight no more, for when the war is over we are slighted like dogs."¹

This was the bitter complaint of the rank and file in England, and soldiers north of the Tweed were even more exposed to public contumely. Such of the Caledonian peasants as were in the grip of Covenanting agitators, averse on principle to any discipline except that of the Kirk, were lashed up by their pastors to regard as "spawn of Satan" the King's forces which were employed to combat anarchy and bring back law and order.

As it was the typical Covenanting aversion to military discipline which had put victory into Cromwell's hand, and thus enabled the English Puritans to overrun all Scotland, it is scarcely surprising that to Claverhouse—whose earliest recollections were of his native country ground beneath the southern conqueror's heel—the vigour and efficiency of the Scots army was of vital national importance. To realise the principles which animated him and prompted all his actions, it is necessary to survey his whole life in the light of this essential fact.

In the autumn of 1678, when he was about thirty years of age, he made his first appearance as a soldier in Scotland,² and was then entrusted with the difficult and disagreeable task of suppressing conventicles in Dumfriesshire and Annandale.

¹ Anonymous letter to the King, Cal. S. P. Dom. 1665-1666, p. 279.

² Commission dated September 23, 1678. Warrant Book, Scotland, vol. iv., fol. 419, 421.

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Covenanting writers, imputing to their enemies their own fierce feelings, would give us the impression that King Charles's officers loved nothing better than to spend their days and nights riding across the wind-swept moors and rugged mountains in pursuit of the "elect"; but this could only have been the case if the Royalists had been inspired by fanaticism similar to that which swayed the Covenanters themselves.

Some confusion of mind prevails nowadays as to the exact nature of the famous conventicles, and a word of elucidation, to show how they were regarded by Claverhouse's contemporaries, is therefore advisable:

The clerical agitators, as Sir George Mackenzie explains, asserted that "their government was *Jure Divino*" and that the people were therefore obliged to obey them under pain of eternal damnation. "Whereupon the State, fearing that the old humour might ferment again into a rebellion," left the populace "free exercise of their conscience in their families," but forbade more than five strangers to meet at a conventicle. To elude penalties for house conventicles some of the preachers gathered the people together in the fields, and these people¹

"bringing arms with them to secure their ministers, came at last to have such an opinion of their own strength that they formed themselves into an army, and were defeated at Pentland Hills, November 1666. Yet, within a short time of that, the State indulged them so far as to allow them their own ministers, settling them in churches, and allowing them the enjoyment of the benefices in many places."

This however did not satisfy them,

"because the ministers so indulged acknowledged the King and Council's authority; and they, with some of their violent preachers railed as much against these indulged ministers as against the Bishops and regular Clergy, and called them Council Curates, and separated from them. The

¹ In Fife alone, it was computed that on one Sunday 16,000 persons were worshipping in the fields (Crichton's *Blackader*, p. 183), and in 1677 there was a conventicle at

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State considering that by the laws of all nations, rising in arms is to be accounted rebellion,”

and that a preacher's presence assuredly could not legitimate the action, declared field conventicles to be hot-beds of treason, as undoubtedly they were.¹

Claverhouse's first letter to the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Linlithgow (dated from Moffat, December the 28th, 1678), reports that the country is in a disturbed state, and that the regular clergy “complain extremely” when he tells them he has no orders to apprehend anybody for past misdemeanours. He writes on his way to Dumfries (which he had selected as headquarters for his troop), and says he has as yet heard nothing of the Dragoons, which were to serve as his auxiliaries, but he had learnt that the most convenient places for quartering them would be “Moffat, Lochmaben, and Annan; whereby,” he somewhat optimistically adds, “the whole country may be kept in awe.”²

These were two independent troops of Dragoons, raised some seven months previously, and captained respectively by John Inglis and John Strachan. As many historians have confused the Horse and Dragoons, confounding Claverhouse's own troop with these Dragoons since famous as the Royal Scots Greys, it is advisable to point out the mistake, and mention that Dragoons in 1678 performed the functions of our present Mounted Infantry.³

East Nisbet in Berwickshire lasting over three days, the people who went to and from it being attended by squadrons of Horse to protect them from the officers of the law. (Blackader, pp. 198-206.)

¹“A Vindication of the Government in Scotland during the reign of King Charles II. by Sir George Mackenzie, late Lord Advocate there. London, 1691” (pp. 6, 7). See also Mackenzie's “Observations on the Acts of Parliament,” 1687, p. 2: “To raise War is part of His Majesty's Prerogative; and whoever makes war, usurps the regal power.”

²Bann. Club, “Letters,” pp. 1-2. Claverhouse subsequently excluded Lochmaben because on going there he found “no conveniency for lodging anyone.” (*Ibid.* p. 3.)

³The fact that the Dragoon of Claverhouse's day was “neither Cavalry nor Infantry, but the chosen hero of modern story, the Mounted Infantryman,” is incidentally illustrated by the following royal order of October 30, 1684 (quoted by Mr Almack in his “Scots Greys,” p. 286) referring to the regiment of which Dalzell and afterwards Lord Dunmore was the Colonel:

“For the preventing of all disputes that might arise concerning the rank of our Royal Regiment of Dragoons or of any other Regiment of Dragoons that shall be employed in

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Twelve men in each troop, as well as the non-commissioned officers, were armed with a halbert and a pair of pistols, and the rank and file were equipped with matchlock-muskets, bandoliers and bayonets.¹ These two independent troops, and his own troop of Horse, were all the forces at Claverhouse's disposal; and he soon discovered that it was not easy to "keep so vast a country" with so few soldiers.

The town of Dumfries, his first headquarters, is greatly changed since 1678; no trace remains now of the castle where the Dragoons used to mount guard, and the streets and churches are considerably altered; but the surrounding country probably is much the same, and Lady Devorgilla's bridge, that even then was of a venerable antiquity, still spans the river Nith which separates Dumfriesshire from the neighbouring shire of Kirkcudbright. Crossing the bridge—over which Bruce and Wallace and all the most distinguished figures in the history of the kingdom passed at one time or another—we find ourselves in Galloway, a country which is to Scotland what the duchy of Cornwall was and is to England, a region quite apart, with its own customs and traditions. Galloway even now retains a certain romantic savagery and a poetic glamour; it is a land of "rocks and moors"; "wild forests" and "great hills"²; and it will

our service, We have thought fit hereby to declare our Pleasure:—That our own Royal Regiment of Dragoons, and all other Regiments of Dragoons to be employed in our service, shall have precedence both as Horse and Foot, as well in garrison and in the field as in all councils of war and other military occasions. And the Colonels and other officers of the said Regiments of Dragoons shall command as Officers of Horse and Foot according to the nature of the place where they shall be; [that is to say] that in the field the said Regiments shall take place as Regiments of Horse, according to the date of their commissions, and that in garrison they command as Foot Officers and their Regiments take place amongst the Foot according to their respective seniorities from the time they were raised."

¹ Fortescue, "History of the British Army," vol. i., pp. 325-326, and Almack, "Royal Scots Greys," p. 136.

The "liveries" of the Dragoons were of grey cloth, their coats lined with blue and white; their helmets were of iron, and they wore very high boots.

On February 2, 1683, General Dalzell, "finding that he cannot be provided with as much cloth of one colour as will be clothes for the regiment of Dragoons," obtained from the Privy Council a licence permitting the cloth-manufacturing company at Newmilns "to import 2,536 ells of stone-grey cloth from England for clothing for the said regiment." (Almack, "Scots Greys," p. 136.)

² Symson's "Large Description of Galloway," 1684-1692.

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presently appear how easily the Covenanting fugitives, familiar with the country, could evade the soldiers of the King, who, floundering along unknown ways—by bogs and rivers, lonely mountain tracks and desolate wastes—would often hunt the rebels for a day and night and see no living creatures, except perhaps a flight of wild geese, ptarmigan, or “gormaws.”

The nature of the country must be borne in mind in estimating Claverhouse's efforts. His name is now associated chiefly with Galloway (the shires of Wigtown and Kirkcudbright), but when he started his career his orders confined him to Dumfries and Annandale. This, as he wrote to Lord Linlithgow, was embarrassing ; for considering that the other end of the bridge is in Galloway, outside his line of operations, there would be nothing to prevent the disaffected holding conventicles across the river, “at our nose,” if they so chose. “Such an insult as that would not please me,” remarks Claverhouse ; “and on the other hand I am unwilling to exceed orders.”

In the same letter he suggests sending to Lord Linlithgow one of his troopers every Monday and one of the Dragoons every Thursday, “so that I will have the happiness to give your Lordship account of our affairs twice a week, and your Lordship occasion to send your commands for us as often” ; and in an emphatic postscript he requests urgently that “any new orders . . . may be kept as secret as possible,” so that the “favourers of the fanatics” will not be able to put obstacles in his way.

Apparently the Commander-in-Chief must have censured him for excess of caution, for in his next letter he replies :

“MY LORD, since I have seen the Act of Council, the scruple I had about undertaking any thing without the bounds of these two shires is indeed frivolous, but was not so before. For if there had been no such Act, it had not been safe for me to have done anything but what my order warranted ; and since I knew it not, it was to me the same thing as if it had not been. And, for my ignorance of it, I must acknowledge that

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till now, in any service I have been in, I never enquired further in the laws than the orders of my superior officers.”¹

This protest, which is obviously Claverhouse’s polite manner of remonstrating with the Commander-in-Chief for not sending him more definite instructions, has been quoted almost as though it had been uttered by him on his deathbed to defend himself from criticism by transferring to his superior officers the sole responsibility for all his doings. It will be seen, however, by his subsequent actions that a fear of taking responsibility was certainly not one of his foibles.

On Friday, January the 3rd, the offending meeting-house on the Galloway side of the bridge—“at our nose”—was demolished by special order of the Privy Council. It had been lately fitted up with a “hek and manger . . . to make it pass for a byre,” but this disguise could not save it, for (as Claverhouse relates) it was well known to have been “built a-purpose for meeting” at “the expense of the common purse of the disaffected.” Its destruction was not Claverhouse’s work, but that of the Steward-Depute—no less a personage than that “red-hot prelatist” Grierson of Lag, the “Sir Robert Redgauntlet” of *Wandering Willie’s Tale*.

Claverhouse was requested to be present with a squadron of his men in case the country people should prove refractory; but there was no need of military assistance, for “the Steward-Depute performed his part punctually enough,” the walls were thrown down and the timber burnt, and, as Claverhouse characteristically concludes, “So perished the charity of many ladies.”²

When Claverhouse returned to Dumfries on the following evening (January the 4th), on hearing that a poor man’s horse had been killed by a shot from the castle where some of the Dragoons were quartered, he “went immediately and examined the Guard, who denied point-blank that there had been any shot from thence.” Not convinced by this, he “went and heard the Bailie take depositions of men that

¹ Claverhouse to Lord Linlithgow, Dumfries, January 6, 1679. (*Bannatyne Club “Letters,”* p. 4, and *Napier*, vol. ii., p. 189.)

² “If it were not for the women we should have little trouble with conventicles.” (*Duke of Rothes to the Duke of Lauderdale, “Lauderdale Papers,”* vol. i., p. 234.)

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were looking on, who declared upon oath that they saw the shot from the Guard-hall" and saw the horse fall. Claverhouse then caused a search to be made for the bullet in the horse's head, and as this was found to be similar to those used by the soldiers there could be no further question as to the accusation being just. "It is an ugly business," wrote Claverhouse to Lord Linlithgow, for, in addition to the man's misfortune in losing his horse,

"it is extremely against military discipline to fire out of a Guard. I have appointed the poor man to be here to-morrow, and bring with him some neighbours to declare the worth of the horse; and have assured him to satisfy him, if the Captain,¹ who is to be here to-morrow, refuse to do it."²

This is one of the first illustrations of the sense of justice and attention to detail of which there are such frequent indications throughout his correspondence.

His consideration for horses has been put forward with such emphasis that unwary readers have inferred he was more tender towards these quadrupeds than towards his fellow-men. The "glorified martyr" Mr John Dick³ accuses him of having grieved more for the death of his horse at the battle of Drumclog (in 1679) than for any loss of human life. This, of course, may be taken for what it is worth; he is not likely to have confided his feelings to Mr Dick; but that worthy merits a word of remembrance if only for the picturesque manner in which—displaying a remarkable fore-knowledge of the Almighty's intentions with regard to the Last Judgment—he sets forth the ultimate fate of the leading "persecutors." Giving us incidentally to understand that love of horseflesh was the ruling passion of "that bloodthirsty wretch Claverhouse," Mr Dick proceeds oratorically to in-

¹ Either Captain Inglis or Captain Strachan.

² January 6, 1679 (Bannatyne Club "Letters," p. 5). Rule 4 of Orders issued to the Army in 1667, after the Pentland Rising, runs as follows:—"If any disorder or abuse happen to be committed by any horseman or foot-soldier, ordains the respective officer Commander-in-Chief for the time . . . to cause them to make satisfaction for the same, or punish them according to justice." (Ross's "Regimental Colours," p. 5.)

³ Hanged for treason, March 5, 1684. (Fountainhall's "Observes," p. 120 and "Chronological Notes," p. 80.)

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quire: "How thinks he to shelter himself" from God's wrath? Will he be "so mad" as to hope "to secure himself by the fleetness of his horse? . . . No, sure, could he fall upon a chemist that could extract the spirit out of all the horses in the world, and infuse them into his one, though he were on that horse never so well mounted, he need not dream of escaping."¹

The idea is ingenious, and may have suggested the tradition which endows Claverhouse with a coal-black steed of tireless strength and diabolic origin. In reality, however, far from his horses proving of supernatural endurance he experienced material difficulties in arranging for their maintenance; and on February the 8th he reports to the Commander-in-Chief that Lord Queensberry and Fergusson of Craigdarroch "thought it strange that we, who have the honour to serve the King, should be ordered by the Council to pay more for hay and straw than will be asked from any stranger." Moreover he could get no proper quarters.

"I am forced to let the Dragoons quarter at large in the country. What prejudice the King's service may receive by this I know not. . . . What to do in this case your Lordship can best tell. For my part, if my troop come to want hay and straw, I will go to any of the Commissioners lands that are adjacent and take it, offering the rates, and think I do nothing but what I may answer for, though I be very unwilling to disoblige any gentleman."²

As the fanatics knew the country, and the troops did not, it was comparatively easy for the Covenanting fugitives to give the slip to their pursuers. The celebrated outlawed minister, John Welsh (called John after his famous ancestor John Knox), drew large congregations of armed recusants within thirty miles of Claverhouse, who though he searched vigorously, riding sometimes as much as forty miles in one

¹ "A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland," 1684, by the "glorified Martyr, Mr John Dick," quoted by Scott, "Old Mortality," Note XI.

² "Letters," Bannatyne Club, p. 12.

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night, could not find anyone who would own to being guilty.

Irongray, Welsh's parish, is on the Galloway side of the river, about three miles from Dumfries. The turbulent minister had been "outed," and his place given to some less pugnacious saint; but his congregation preferred the lurid style of oratory of their former pastor, and his conventicles among the hills or on the moors were attended by many vigorous and truculent spirits, eager to overturn the Government and to enforce once more the Solemn League and Covenant.

"I find Mr Welsh is accustoming both ends of the country to face the King's forces, and certainly intends to break out in an open rebellion," writes Claverhouse to the Commander-in-Chief from Dumfries on April the 21st: "I expect him here next."

Apparently the soldiers were not very eager to measure strength with the armed conventiclors, for Claverhouse tells Lord Linlithgow he had declared to his troopers that when they should at last meet with the elusive saints militant "they must either fight in good earnest, or be judged as cowards by a Council of War."¹

The position of Claverhouse was not enviable, for—as he indicated to Lord Linlithgow—it was impossible to keep large tracts of country under control when all the disaffected knew how scanty were his forces. It was over a hundred miles (he pointed out) "betwixt Port Patrick and some of the Duke of Monmouth's bounds lying within the stewartry of Annandale"; and he maintained that it would be necessary to secure the seaports on the west coast, as, from Portpatrick, Ayr, and Ballantrae nothing, was easier than for "those rogues" of rebels to "run over to Ireland."²

One of Claverhouse's additional difficulties was the want of money with which to pay his men; Sir William Sharp, the King's Cash-Keeper, was dilatory and unbusinesslike, and Claverhouse writes in desperation to the Commander-in-

¹ (Dumfries. May 6, 1679.) "Letters," Bannatyne Club, p. 25.

² *Ibid.* pp. 13, 14.

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Chief, "If we march I must take free quarters, for I cannot pay money if I get none; Sir William Sharp is short of paying us near six hundred pounds sterling."¹

From a report of the Committee of Council at Lanark, to the effect that the King's soldiers were being robbed and beaten, and in some cases wounded and killed, by the Covenanters, it appeared that these zealots were carrying out their oft-expressed threat of hewing Agag in pieces; and, as even Wodrow admits, "about this time matters were running to sad heights among the armed followers of some of the field-meetings."

Shortly afterwards an Act of Parliament was passed, on the suggestion of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, enabling the King to name deputy sheriffs whose work was to supplement that of the holders of hereditary jurisdictions, these local magnates being in some cases disaffected to the Government. Accordingly Claverhouse, in conjunction with his lieutenant Bruce of Earlshall, was by a special royal warrant appointed Sheriff-Depute of Dumfries and Annandale, and Steward of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown (February the 27th, 1679). From this time onwards he was numbered amongst the men whose influence was to be reckoned with in Scotland.

¹To take free quarters was contrary to custom in his Majesty's service. In a previous letter to the Commander-in-Chief (January 6, 1679), Claverhouse says that he hears complaints that before his command had begun the Dragoons had been offending in this way. "The Steward-Depute [Grierson of Lag], before good company told me that several people about Moffat were resolved to make a complaint to the Council against the Dragoons for taking free quarter. . . . I begged them to forbear till the Captain and I should come there, when they should be redressed in everything. Your Lordship will be pleased not to take any notice of this till I have informed myself upon the place." ("Letters," Bannatyne Club, p. 5.)

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In truth, he appears to have combined the virtues and vices of a savage chief. Fierce, unbending, and rigorous, no emotion of compassion prevented his commanding and witnessing every detail of military execution against the Non-conformists. — SIR WALTER SCOTT, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

I am as sorry to see a man die, even a Whig, as any of themselves. But when one dies justly for his own faults, and may save a hundred to fall in the like, I have no scruple. — CLAVERHOUSE to QUEENSBERRY (June 9, 1683).

Chapter II: Experiences in the South-West of Scotland, 1679- 1682

ASURE test of great men of action," says a statesman of our own day, "is the absence of lukewarmness with regard to them. They are detested or adored."¹ If greatness may be thus measured, Claverhouse's Janus-faced reputation ought to stand him in good stead. In this study of his life and times the double headings to each chapter act as signposts at the crossroads of the controversy, and show at a glance the diametrically opposite feelings with which his actions can be regarded. There are, indeed, few figures on the historic platform which—when seen only through the medium of party historians and commentators—seem on first acquaintance more perplexing to that spirit of cautious criticism which equally distrusts vigorous denunciation and fervent eulogy.

The fact that King James's most zealous champion is often judged less as a man among men than as the incarnation of certain monarchic principles, does not tend to simplify the problem; and Claverhouse so consistently subordinated his private life to his public duties that his biographers have not hitherto been able to discover any of those familiar details which by their sheer human interest rouse sympathy for the man when his political opinions no longer call forth approbation. Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, though well hated in his lifetime, has become one of the most popular of English heroes, and no one blames him for having maintained that tyrannical or faulty kings must be endured and faithfully

¹ Lord Rosebery, "Napoleon, the Last Phase," p. 222.

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served by their subjects ; but this same conviction as exemplified in Claverhouse is allowed to overshadow all the other aspects of his career. His history is inseparable from the history of Scotland in the seventeenth century, and therein lies the difficulty for his biographer. To draw up a list of his actions, and judge by them alone, is insufficient, as mere facts are seldom very illuminating to the reader unless he is supported by a lively recollection of the conditions which produced them. Such conditions are easily forgotten, often distorted, and still oftener—consciously or unconsciously—excluded from consideration.

Before proceeding to detail Claverhouse's campaign against the Covenanters, some general remarks of a retrospective nature are inevitable. Bishop Burnet informs us that King Charles II. declared the Presbyterian religion unfit for gentlemen ; and though Burnet's gossip must always be taken with caution, there is in this case no need for scepticism. Charles could never forget that the Covenanters had surrendered his father to the English Parliament for the sum of £400,000 sterling¹ ; and his own experiences had been such as to arouse in him a positive loathing for Presbytery and its policy. When Argyll and the Covenanting party had him in their power they had composed for him a most humiliating declaration, which, after opening with the statement that by a merciful dispensation of Providence his Majesty had been "recovered out of the snare of evil council," proceeded to express for him an ardent desire to reform :

"He doth now detest and abhor all Popery, superstition and idolatry, together with Prelacy . . . and resolves not to tolerate much less allow any of these in any part of his dominions, but to oppose himself thereto, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power."

He doth

"profess and declare that he will have no enemies but the

¹ This transaction is alluded to by a contemporary, Patrick, Earl of Strathmore, as "an unpardonable sin in those who received the price, which will certainly prove a snare and a curse to their posterity, and does remain an everlasting reproach to the nation." (Glamis Book of Record, Scottish Hist. Soc.)

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enemies of the Covenant, and that he will have no friends but the friends of the Covenant."

He apologises for the "idolatry" of his mother, and laments the errors of his father; and he is convinced of the "exceeding great sinfulness and unlawfulness of that treaty and peace made with the bloody Irish rebels," and of his wickedness in allowing them the liberty of the "Popish religion, for the which he doth from his heart desire to be deeply humbled."¹

Had Charles been cast in a heroic mould, he would rather have followed his father to the block than have consented to the publication of his name in connection with such a document, and he did at least protest against the abject expressions it ascribed to him. It was, however, always his way to study expediency; the honour of the royal cause had been upheld by Montrose on the scaffold, but it suited the King to come to terms with Montrose's triumphant enemies. The position was a desperate one, and, to have withstood the pressure brought to bear upon him, Charles would have required a transcendent moral courage totally foreign to his easy-going nature. He made no pretence to be *sans peur et sans reproche*, but, after signing the grovelling Declaration and submitting to the hated Solemn League and Covenant, he wrote and told Lord Beauchamp he had no intention of abiding by his word; his signature had been obtained by a species of compulsion, and was therefore valueless.² All things considered, it is difficult to say what other attitude one of his disposition could have been expected to adopt. It was nevertheless unfortunate for his reputation and his honour that he so far adapted himself to circumstances

¹ Charles II.'s Declaration at Dunfermline, August 1650. Given *in extenso* in the Notes to Wodrow's "History," vol. i., Burns's edition.

² This opinion was shared by the more rational Presbyterians: "We did sinfully both entangle the nation and ourselves and that poor young prince, making him sign and swear a Covenant which we knew he hated in his heart; wherein I must confess, to my apprehension, our sin was more than his. I had so clear conviction of this that I spoke of it to the King himself, desiring him not to subscribe the Covenant if his conscience was not satisfied." ("Diary of Provost Alexander Jaffray" [one of the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to treat with Charles II.], "Spalding Club Miscellany," vol. i., p. 34; and Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 1, p. 122.)

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as to take the Covenant; his compliance, followed by his subsequent recantation, afforded a fair pretext for describing him as "the perjured and apostate Charles Stuart" and denouncing him accordingly.

In this twentieth century, when religious bigotry has given way to toleration verging on indifference, the re-establishment of Episcopacy and the severe measures taken by the Restoration Government against recusancy are considered both harsh and impolitic; but it must be remembered that the seventeenth century was not a tolerant age, and that no sect was more violently intolerant than the Covenanters themselves.

The first Covenant had so strong a claim to represent the feelings of the Scottish nation that even Montrose had signed it; but its successor, the Solemn League and Covenant, was the production of an oligarchy far more despotic than the monarchy it opposed¹; and the Covenanters of Claverhouse's day were the discredited remnant of that fanatical party—a party which had torn the realm in pieces, and, by subverting reason, common-sense and discipline, had paved the way for the Cromwellian conquest. By the time that Claverhouse, a generation later, appeared on the political stage, the Westland Whigs whom he was sent to "persecute" had been disowned by all the moderate and rational Presbyterians. Law in his "Memorials" wails over the fanaticism that had brought the Presbyterian creed into such disrepute; and Fountainhall (who cannot be suspected of Episcopal predilections), describing Mitchell's attempted assassination of Archbishop Sharpe, and alluding to the manner in which the would-be murderer tried to justify himself by the Biblical example of Phineas killing Cozbi and Zimri, comments that "this is a dangerous principle and asserted by no sober Presbyterian."²

¹ "I did engage in the first Covenant, and was faithful to it. . . . For the League, I thank God I was never in it, and so could not break it. How far religion has been advanced by it, and what sad consequences followed on it, these poor distressed kingdoms can witness." (Montrose's speech to the Parliament, at his trial, May 20, 1650. Wigtown MSS. Napier's "Memoirs of Montrose," vol. ii., p. 794.)

² Fountainhall's "Historical Notices," vol. i., p. 186.

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Tradition and romance have cast a glamour over the Covenanters, whose tenacity and courage are undoubted ; but it must be remembered that the men whom Claverhouse was sent to suppress were no harmless enthusiasts, asking nothing except liberty of conscience, but armed fanatics of the most truculent and desperate type. Averse to every form of civil government, they thought themselves lacking in zeal and fervour unless constantly employed in preaching sedition, and vigorously denouncing the Episcopal faith and the "base compliance" of all such of their brethren as were willing to pay "customs at ports and bridges"¹ and live as sober law-abiding citizens.

The Solemn League and Covenant had bound its adherents "to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, Profaneness"; and "it is perhaps not altogether unintelligible that those who were not in the least ashamed of being Papists or Prelatists, and knew that they were accounted heretical, schismatical and profane, would be unwilling to consent to their own extirpation" however desirable it might seem in the eyes of the Covenanters.²

The Cavalier standpoint is set forth in Sir George Mackenzie's "*Jus Regium*," a treatise on that form of absolute monarchy which to the ardent Royalist and Episcopalian mind appeared the one alternative to anarchy. Its tenets must be clearly understood by all who strive to form a reasonable estimate of Claverhouse's life. Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh—best remembered as the founder of the Advocates' Library—was one of the ablest and most distinguished lawyers in Scotland, and though his arguments may now appear like special pleading, they assuredly represent the heartfelt principles of Claverhouse and his colleagues.

At this distance of time we are apt to forget that the horrors of the Civil War were still very present to the

¹ "Faithful Contendings," quoted in C. K. Sharpe's edition of Kirkton, note, p. 399.

² Henry Jenner. Introduction to the reprint of the 1714 "*Memoir of Lord Viscount Dundee*," p. 27. London, 1903.

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Cavalier memory. Much has been said as to the Restoration severities having goaded the Covenanters to madness, but the fact that their own behaviour when previously in power had been ruinous in Scotland, is forgotten or ignored. Sir George Mackenzie's view of the matter is naturally very different from that of the arm-chair historian, and is on that account the more illuminating.

"If we consult either our experiences or history, we will find that these pretences of liberty and religion have always been used by those who loved neither." The sole pretext that can justify rebellion is the necessity of self-defence ; but, asks the King's Advocate, how can defensive arms be distinguished from offensive, or "who ever begun at the one who did not proceed to the other ?" The war against Charles I. was said to be defensive only, yet it ended in the overthrow of the monarchy and the consequent conquest of Scotland by the English. The people who had begun merely by refusing to pay such taxes as they considered exorbitant, went on to take up defensive arms, after which they assumed the right to reform by the sword, and finally took upon themselves the dethronement and slaying of the King, and "the murdering and assassinating all who differed from them. . . . That dangerous though specious principle of defensive arms is inconsistent with that order of nature which God has established," says Mackenzie, and the Rev. Robert Law—though a Presbyterian—expresses himself in much the same strain, but even more forcibly than the King's Advocate. Alluding to the trial and condemnation of one Patrick Foreman, who gloried in the possession of a knife inscribed "To cut the throats of tyrants," Law says that the "odious opinions" of the fanatics were grounded upon two egregious fallacies "taught by corrupt teachers: 1st, That a king not doing his office, or doing anything contrary to religion, *ipso facto* is denuded of his royal power : 2nd, That a tyrannous king may, by private persons, be killed : which principles are very dangerous," indicating as they do that "any private person may kill his prince, upon any supposed maladministration."¹

¹ "Memorials," p. 206.

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These “corrupt teachers,” whose doctrines are thus described and disowned by a Presbyterian clergyman of Claverhouse’s time, have been cited as though they represented the theological and political opinions of the whole of Scotland, which is assuredly a grave injustice to Scotland.

After detailing the theories promulgated by the malcontents, Mackenzie exclaims :

“What a glorious state should mankind be left in, if anarchy were thus established, and every man should be invested with power to be his own judge? Or dares any reasonable man assert that this is fit to be allowed in the present condition of mankind; for, since the generality of men can scarce be contained in their duty by the severest laws that can be made, what can be expected from them when they are loosed from all law?”

If the multitude had ever shown itself infallible, “something might be said” in favour of giving it more freedom; but, in the existing state of affairs, the King at the worst can be “but an ill master; whereas in allowing subjects to usurp, we may fight to get ourselves hundreds of tyrants,” who in their turn will fight against one other, “so that we shall not know,” protests the King’s Advocate, “which of these devils to obey.” Therefore he,

“cannot but exceedingly commend our predecessors for making this reasonable choice of an absolute monarchy; for a monarchy that is subject to the impetuous caprices of the multitude when giddy, or to the incorrigible factiousness of nobility when interested, is in effect no government at all; and though a mixed monarchy may seem a plausible thing to metaphysical spirits and schoolmen, yet to such as understand government and the world it cannot but appear impracticable; for if the people understand that it is in their power to check their monarch, the desire of command is so bewitching a thing, that probably they will be at it upon all occasions, and so when the King commands one thing the nobility will command another, and it may be the people a third. And

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as it implies contradiction that the same persons should both command and obey, so where find we those sober and mortified men who will obey when they may command?

"To show what justice Kings and Princes are to expect from the populace [says the Advocate] let us remember their material justice in the usage of our Saviour, when they cried *Crucify him, Crucify him*; their sentence against King Charles the Martyr, when they were at the height of their pretensions to piety and a public spirit; their usage of De Witt, the idolizer of them and their Commonwealth: and if we want a true idea of their form of process, we will find it in their usage of the Archbishop of St Andrews and others,—no enditements, no citation, no defences, no sentences, no time to prepare to die."¹

And yet, remarks Sir George, all this was said to have been dictated by a "pure and devout" patriotism.²

At the time when Claverhouse began his career in Scotland, the activity of the field preachers had led to the organisation of large conventicles which, meeting at stated places on the Sabbath, spent the rest of the week in wandering about the country, ready to take up "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon" to smite the ungodly. At Lesmahagow, in Clydesdale, a notorious Covenanting locality, a party of Dragoons

¹ "Jus Regium," p. 42.

² For a lucid and interesting account of the events which led to the state of affairs with which Claverhouse had to cope, the reader should consult Mathieson's "Politics and Religion in Scotland." Mr Mathieson says, apropos of the treatment of the Covenanting clergy after the Restoration, that "under bishops in Scotland—to their honour, be it said—it was one thing not to conform, and another thing to be deposed. Of Nonconformists who had been admitted to the livings they now held before the abolition of patronage, many were merely confined to their parishes; and a considerable number—for example, ten in the combined Presbyteries of Biggar, Peebles, Dalkeith, and Haddington—were placed under no restriction at all. Of the thirty-five ministers who retained their livings in the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, it is doubtful whether so many as seventeen conformed" (vol. ii., pp. 192, 193).

There is a popular fallacy nowadays that Presbyterians were required by the Government to "renounce their religion," instead of which they were only required to refrain from practising that portion of it which dictated that they must slay all who differed from them. In 1679 such of the Covenanting ministers who were then in prison were offered freedom on condition they would promise to behave peaceably, but those who made a promise so little in keeping with the spirit of the Covenant were denounced by the more obdurate amongst their brethren. (See Walker, "Biog. Pres.," vol. i., p. 271.)

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were dispersed by a formidable armed conventicle, and their commander severely wounded; and on April the 20th, at Newmilns in Ayrshire, two soldiers were slain, for no apparent reason except that they wore the King's uniform.¹ These demonstrations of zeal were followed on May the 3rd by the murder of the Scottish Primate, which was, as Fountainhall says, a "barbarous act."²

No letter from Claverhouse referring to it is known to be in existence, but (even apart from the fact that the Archbishop, who was scholarly and cultured, is said to have paid particular attention to him in the days when he was a student at St Andrews³) he certainly would not have condoned the doctrines which impelled nine relentless fanatics to band together and slay one old man.

Archbishop Sharpe, always an unpopular and unattractive figure, is still fiercely execrated in Scotland; but during his lifetime his few admirers and intimates extolled him as a learned, pious and generous prelate who gave alms liberally to the poor of all creeds, privately employing a niece of the fanatic Johnstone of Warriston to dispense money in charity to unfortunate members of that very sect which, unable to forgive his conversion to Episcopacy, saw in him "the treachery of Judas, the apostacy of Julian, and the cruelty of Nero."⁴

His death is fully described in Covenanting annals, and as nobody can be better qualified to make it clear to us than one of the men who took part in the enterprise, we follow Russell, who narrates that on April the 11th, 1679, when a party of "worthy Christians" met to confer regarding the

¹ "Lauderdale Papers," vol. iii., p. 162.

² It was pointed out by a member of the legal profession as "a curious illustration of the perversion of language and of diversity of character," that at the very time when that "worthy gentleman" Hackston of Rathillet, inspired by "zeal for the cause of God," was superintending the slaying of Archbishop Sharpe on Magus Muir, "Bloody Claver's" was delaying the march of his prisoners in consideration of the illness of one of them, a conventicle preacher named Irwin. ("The New Examen," by John Paget, Barrister-at-Law.) (See also Claverhouse's letters on the subject of Irwin's illness, Napier, vol. ii., pp. 202, 207.)

³ Morer's "Short Account of Scotland, etc.," p. 95, 1702.

⁴ "God's Justice exemplified in His Judgments upon Persecutors" (quoted in C. K. Sharpe's notes to Kirkton's "History of the Church of Scotland," p. 82).

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slaying of William Carmichael, Sheriff-Depute of Fife, the project of also killing the Archbishop came under discussion, "it being, by many of the Lord's people and ministers, judged a duty, long since, not to suffer such a person to live, who had shed and was shedding so much of the blood of the saints."

The details of the murder, the venerable prelate's prayer that his life might be spared, his daughter's courageous attempts to protect him from the resolute brutality of his assailants, all are so well known that we may omit a description of the scene. When it was over, one of the fanatics assured his brethren that the Lord had said to him: "Well done, good and faithful servants," and the party accordingly dispersed rejoicing. From their point of view the "truculent traitor James Sharp" had only received the just reward of "his perfidy, perjury, apostacy, sorceries, villanies, and murders,"¹ but it is scarcely surprising that the Privy Council, looking upon the matter in a different light, forbade the carrying of arms without a licence, and declared it treason to go armed to any field meeting.

Balfour of Kinloch and the other assassins fled to the West, and there inflamed that spirit of rebellion which the rigour of the law had not succeeded in quenching.

On May the 6th Claverhouse, who had not then heard of the outrage, wrote to headquarters describing his difficulty in running the conventiclers to ground. He had marched with his troop "to the borders of Crawford Moor, where Cameron had preached the Sunday before, and did actually preach that very day" only three miles away from the royal forces, but on account of the thickness of the fog it had been quite impossible to catch the sturdy rebel. "I know not what hand to turn to," writes Claverhouse,

"to find those parties that are in arms. I shall send out to all quarters, and establish spies; and shall endeavour to engage them Sunday next if it be possible. And if I get them not

¹ "A Hind let Loose, or an Historical representation of the testimonies of the Church of Scotland for the interest of Christ," by "a true lover of liberty" (the Rev. Alexander Shields, 1687).

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here, I shall go and visit them in Teviotdale or Carrick, where, they say, they dare look honest men in the face.”¹

“I am certainly informed,” he writes from Falkirk, at the end of the month,

“there is a resolution taken among the Whigs that eighteen parishes shall meet Sunday next in Kilbride Moor within four miles of Glasgow. I resolve, though I do not believe it, to advertise my Lord Ross, so that with our joint force we may attack them.”

Lord Ross had also written to the Commander-in-Chief (from Lanark, May the 5th):

“It is impossible for us to fight with wind. But if any of these people do appear, be their number what it will, we shall either give an account of them or they of us.”

The events of Sunday, June the 1st, were destined to be widely different from what Claverhouse anticipated. On Thursday, May the 29th, a party of about eighty mounted men, all well armed, appeared suddenly at Rutherglen, a couple of miles from Glasgow; there they proclaimed the Covenant, and burnt several Acts of Parliament, such as the Act declaring the King’s Supremacy, the Act re-establishing Episcopacy, and the Act appointing that the Restoration day should be kept as a festival. This done, “they affixed a certain scandalous and traitorous paper or declaration on the Market Cross, and intended to have done the like at Glasgow” but refrained because some of the royal forces were quartered there.²

What followed is best described by Claverhouse in his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, written from Glasgow on Sunday night, or rather in the small hours of Monday morning.

“Upon Saturday’s night when my Lord Ross came into this place, I marched out; and because of the insolency that had been done two nights before at Ru[ther]glen, I went

¹ Claverhouse to Lord Linlithgow, “Letters,” Bannatyne Club, p. 26.

² “A True Account of the Rebels in the West of Scotland,” Edinburgh, June 4th, 1679; for their Declaration see also Renwick’s “Informatory Vindication,” p. 88, ed. 1744.

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thither and enquired for the names. So soon as I got them, I sent out parties to seize on them, and found not only three of these rogues, but also an intercommuned ¹ minister called King. We had them at Stra[tha]ven about six in the morning yesterday; and, resolving to convey them to this, I thought we might make a little tour to see if we could fall upon a Conventicle,—which we did [he adds dryly], little to our advantage. For when we came in sight of them, we found them drawn up in battle upon a most advantageous ground, to which there was no coming but through mosses and lakes. They were not preaching, and had got away all their women and children. They consisted of four battalions of Foot,—all well-armed with fusils and pitchforks,—and three squadrons of Horse.”

Their numbers have been very variously estimated, Claverhouse's statement of four battalions of Foot and three squadrons of Horse being liable to different interpretations in so far as the partisan historian sometimes assumes a battalion or a squadron to be composed of just so many men as suit his purpose. A newsletter dated from Edinburgh three days after the battle relates that the insurgents numbered “fourteen or fifteen hundred men well armed and in good order,” the Foot commanded by “one Weir,” and the Horse by the notorious Robert Hamilton,² Balfour of Kinloch, and Haxton of Rathillet, “these two last being of the murderers of the Archbishop of St Andrews.” Wodrow rates their forces at 250, but if the Covenanting army, as Hamilton testifies, consisted of 6000 men some six days later, it is not easy to believe that it could so rapidly have grown from 250 to such large proportions, and the contemporary newsletter assertion of 1400 or 1500 men—allowing something for exaggeration—may, for lack of satisfactory evidence to the contrary, be taken as a nearer estimate.

Claverhouse had with him only a troop of Dragoons

¹ Outlawed.

² Second son of Sir William Hamilton of Preston, described by Crichton as “the unworthy son of a most worthy father.”

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rated by Crichton at 120, and his own troop of Horse which numbered under 70 inclusive of officers. Crichton's reminiscences, narrated at the age of eighty to the Dean of St Patrick's, are not free from inaccuracies, but as he was a lieutenant in the Dragoons quartered in Glasgow at the time of the battle, he is likely to have known the number of the royal forces, though he makes a wild guess at that of the insurgents.

It seems certain that the odds of numbers as well as of position were very much against Claverhouse, but nevertheless at first he had the better of them, as he tells Lord Linlithgow.

"The rebels, upon Captain Grahame's approach," says the newsletter, "sent out two parties to skirmish with him, which he beat back into their main body." Then, relates Claverhouse, the Covenanters, on finding themselves worsted in skirmishing,

"resolved on a general engagement, and immediately advanced with their Foot, the Horse following. They came through the loch and the greatest body of all made up against my troop."

He kept his fire till they were within three paces, but did not succeed in checking their advance. Among the first to fall was his Cornet,¹ and two other Cavaliers (Mr Crawford and Captain Blyth by name); and Claverhouse himself had a narrow escape. His sorrel horse was torn open by a Covenanter's pitchfork and wounded in most ghastly fashion, which, he says, "so discouraged our men that they sustained not the shock, but fell into disorder." The insurgents, prompt to press the advantage thus gained, then pursued his Majesty's forces "so hotly" that they had no time to rally.

"Being so much overpowered in numbers,"² Claverhouse saw nothing for it but to retreat upon Glasgow.

"I saved the standards [he says]; but lost on the place about eight or ten men, besides wounded. But the Dragoons

¹ Cornet Robert Grahame, commissioned September 27, 1678. (Warrant Book, Scotland, vol. ix., fol. 452.)

² "A True Account of the Rebels, etc.," June 4, 1679.

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lost many more.¹ They are not come easily off on the other side, for I saw several of them fall before we came to the shock. I made the best retreat the confusion of our people would suffer."

As he was flying from the field, his former prisoner, King, the outlawed minister, who had been rescued some time since by the other saints militant, facetiously called out to the vanquished Captain of Horse to "wait the afternoon sermon," and cracked further jests at his expense when he ignored this invitation.²

Hamilton, the rebel leader, displayed, according to one of his admirers, much valour "both in the conflict with and pursuit of the enemy." He had issued his express command before the fight that his followers were to slay and spare not, and he was afterwards indignant when he discovered that some backsliders had given "five of these bloody enemies quarter and let them go." It

"greatly grieved Mr Hamilton [continues his eulogist] when he saw some of Babel's brats spared, after that the Lord had delivered them into their hands that they might dash them against the stones. In his own account of this, he reckons the sparing of these enemies and letting them go, to be among their first stepping aside, for which he feared that the Lord would not honour them to do much more for him."³

The townsfolk of Strathaven drew up to cut off the retreat of the Cavaliers, but, says Claverhouse, "we took courage," and "made them run, leaving a dozen on the place."

He mentions that his valiant horse, desperately wounded though it was, had nevertheless carried him a mile off the

¹ The newsletter ("True Account") states the losses at about eight Horse and twenty Dragoons.

² The Rev. John King ended his career by being hanged at the Grassmarket. Crichton, who captured him after the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and brought him in with several other prisoners, remarks that it was "very observable" that Claverhouse "made not the least reproach," or retaliation to the sharp-tongued minister now that the tables were turned. (Crichton, "Memoirs," p. 43.)

³ "A true and impartial Account of the persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland," p. 8, 1697. Reprinted 1797-1798. This passage is suppressed in the later editions. (See also Hamilton's vindication of his own conduct printed in Howie's "Faithful Contendings.")

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field ; but he observes a discreet reticence as to his own irritation and chagrin at being routed thus ignominiously in his first military engagement in Scotland. No man in his position and with his keen sensibilities could have failed to feel acutely such a humiliating reverse, but he accepts his defeat like a sportsman and makes no excuses. "What these rogues will do next I know not, but the county was flocking to them from all hands. This," he concludes, "may be counted the beginning of the rebellion, in my opinion."¹

The notions prevalent among inattentive readers as to the supposed vagueness of this incisive letter probably have been suggested by the apologetic postscript, "My Lord, I am so wearied and so sleepy that I have written this very confusedly," and by the fact that his handwriting is less legible than usual, and that he omits to mention the exact place of the encounter.

This dispatch and a supplementary one from Lord Ross reached the Commander-in-Chief on the 2nd of June, and the following morning he received another letter from Lord Ross, describing the attack on Glasgow by the victors the day after the battle :

"This morning these rogues had the confidence to assault us about eleven o'clock. The first attempt was up the Gallowgate, their next was down that street which comes from the head of the town ; but I barricaded all the four streets . . . , and lined them with musketeers, and placed dragoons behind them for a relief, keeping Earl Home's troop and Claver's entire in a body."

In the market-place the King's soldiers were so "active" and their fire so heavy that at last the Covenanters threw down their arms and fled in great disorder.²

On learning these details, Linlithgow (somewhat unac-

¹ Claverhouse to the Earl of Linlithgow. Stowe MSS. British Museum 142, fol. 95 ; and "Letters," Bannatyne Club, p. 30.

² "The Lord Rosse his letter to the Major Generall, 2 June 1679." "Lauderdale Papers," vol. iii., p. 166. See also Crichton, "Memoirs," pp. 32-33. Crichton ascribes to Claverhouse the main credit for the defence of Glasgow.

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countably) sent Ross orders to evacuate Glasgow and march to Stirling which he proposed to make the base of operations; and accordingly, at Larbert near Falkirk, Ross and Claverhouse fell in with the Commander-in-Chief and the main force, consisting of about 1200 men in all: "one troop of Horse Guards, two regiments of Foot, three independent troops of Horse, and three troops of Dragoons."¹ With these, Linlithgow intended to march on Glasgow, but learning that the insurgents had on Ross's departure taken immediate possession of the city, and that they numbered 6000 or 7000 strong, he called a council of war to decide what should be done. His officers "except three or four, thought it not fit to hazard [against such odds] the few standing forces His Majesty had in Scotland,"² and were strongly in favour of a retreat to Stirling; whence, subject to the orders of the Privy Council, and duly reinforced by some militia and perhaps a company of Highlanders, it would be possible to make a successful attack on Glasgow. One of the few dissenting voices was that of Claverhouse, who (if we may believe his earliest biographer) emphatically opposed the retreat, and offered with a "thousand Horse and Foot to disperse the rebels or never to return himself alive."³

The Privy Council however left Glasgow to its fate,⁴ and recalled the regular forces to Edinburgh, where they were joined by the local militia of Mid-Lothian, the militia of East Lothian and Angus, two Fife regiments, and a Perthshire

¹ "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 10.

² "Lauderdale Papers," vol. iii., p. 169. It must be remembered that the above-mentioned two regiments of Foot, four troops of Horse and three of Dragoons, constituted—with the gunners garrisoning the castles of Dumbarton, Edinburgh and Stirling, and the Bass Rock—the entire standing army of Scotland.

³ "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 10.

⁴ The insurgents, on taking possession of the town, ran riot: "They behaved themselves barbarously in the house of the Archbishop of Glasgow, where they burnt his books, cut in pieces his best hangings and furniture, and almost killed a gentlewoman with blows, who was left to keep the house, only for saying these words, 'Gentlemen, I hope you'll remember you are in the Archbishop's house.' They sacrilegiously entered the Cathedral of Glasgow, and finding a tombstone over the two children of the Bishop of Argyll, with an inscription of a modern date, they dugged up their bodies, run them through with their swords, and left them lying upon the ground." ("Address to the Freemen and Freeholders of the Nation," London, 1682.) (See also indictment in the Justiciary Records, November 10, 1679, quoted by Napier, vol. ii., p. 230.)

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regiment under the command of the Marquess of Atholl, making in all about 8000.¹

Heavy rains and defective commissariat kept the entire force inactive,² and Lord Linlithgow wrote dismally to the Duke of Rothes, "My Lord, it is very sad to have so many militia regiments here, and hardly one bit of bread to eat,—which if not remedied by your Lordship I leave you to judge of the event. I hope all of us here will do our duty in our stations, but men must eat."³

Meanwhile the insurgents had encamped on Hamilton Moor, near Bothwell Bridge, some six miles east of Glasgow, and it was rumoured that their numbers had increased to 14,000.⁴

At this juncture the Duke of Monmouth, then in the zenith of his popularity, was appointed Captain-General of the meagre forces north of the Tweed, his commission being signed by the King at Windsor on June the 12th. Setting out at once and travelling post-haste, he reached Edinburgh on the 18th, and on the following day took over the command of the small regular army of Scotland. Even when supplemented by some English Horse and Foot, which joined him on June the 21st, the whole force at his disposal numbered under 3000.⁵ Several regiments appointed to be specially raised for him existed on paper only, owing to the King's lack of funds, and it is not possible to ascertain the exact figures of the troops which the new Captain-General imported from England.⁶

¹ Letters quoted in Wodrow's "Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," vol. iii., pp. 99-100, ed. 1829, and "Ormond Papers," vol. iv., p. 524; Hist. MSS. Comm.

² "Lauderdale Papers," vol. iii., p. 170.

³ Letter in Wodrow, "Sufferings, etc.," vol. iii., pp. 99-100, ed. 1829.

⁴ Crichton, p. 34, and Letter in Hist. MSS. Comm. "Ormond Papers," p. 524.

⁵ 3000 is the figure given by Captain Crichton writing in his old age ("Memoirs," p. 34), but Sir John Reresby rates the royal forces even lower. "June 22nd. The King told me he had an account that the two armies were but ten miles from each other, and that his army did not consist of above 1,200. The rebels were 6,000 strong" (Reresby's "Memoirs," p. 174). These numbers presumably refer to the Scots army before it had been joined by the English reinforcements.

⁶ Dalton, "Scots Army," pp. 55, 56.

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THE ROYAL ARMY, UNDER THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH AND MONMOUTH

<i>Horse</i>	{	3 independent troops, of 60 men each, exclusive of officers	Captains {	Grahame of Claverhouse
		Life Guards (1 troop, 60 men)		The Earl of Home
<i>Foot</i>	{	1 English troop	{	The Earl of Airlie
		The King's Regiment of Foot ¹ (7 companies)		Captain the Marquis of Montrose
<i>Dragoons</i>	{	Lord Mar's Regiment ² (8 companies ⁴)	{	Major Edmund Maine
		Scots Dragoons (1 troop and 80 musketeers)		Colonel the Earl of Linlithgow
<i>Dragoons</i>	{	2 more troops Scots Dragoons	{	Colonel the Earl of Mar ³
		English Dragoons		Lieut.-Col. the Earl of Dalhousie
<i>Dragoons</i>	{	ditto, 2nd troop	{	Captain Stuart
		(?) 2 or 3 more English troops, names not recorded		Captains Inglis and Strachan
<i>Dragoons</i>	{		{	Major Theophilus Oglethorpe
				Captain Henry Cornwall

In Artillery the army was very weak, having merely "four pieces of Cannon"⁵ and "only one gunner" to go along with them, "besides three men that were pressed from Leith, who proved very unfit for service."⁶

In taking the field with so diminutive a force, no doubt his Grace of Monmouth counted upon the superiority of his disciplined troops over opponents who were apt to be as rancorous against each other as against the enemy.

Early on Sunday morning, June the 22nd, the royal army came in sight of Bothwell Bridge, which was strongly barricaded with "great stones" and guarded by a force of the Covenanters rated variously from 300 to 3000. The Royalist

¹ Now Scots Guards.

² Now Royal Scots Fusiliers.

³ Charles, fifth Earl.

⁴ The difficulty of estimating the exact numbers will be seen by the following extract from Barret's "Theorike and Practike of Modern Warres," 1598:—"Touching the number of a several Company, some think 100, some 150 sufficient; but whether it be 100, 150, 200, 300, or more, or a Regiment of several Companies, being fitted with Captains and officers of sufficiency it importeth not much; for some Captains can better govern 300 than some others 150." In the Scottish standing army of Claverhouse's day a company of Foot varied in numbers from 25 to 100, and a troop of Horse from 26 to 120. (Ross's "Scottish Regimental Colours," p. 5.)

⁵ Crichton, p. 35, refers to the "four small field pieces."

⁶ Report by John Slazer, Lieutenant of Artillery. Dalton, "Scots Army," p. 56.

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advance-guard was composed of Lord Home's troop of Horse and "five troops of English Dragoons"¹ led by the celebrated Major Theophilus Oglethorpe.²

Monmouth progressed more leisurely with Montrose's Life Guards, Claverhouse's and Lord Airlie's Horse, and Lord Linlithgow's Foot.

As the bulk of the insurgents were still on Hamilton Moor, on the far side of the river about a mile distant, some of Monmouth's officers suggested crossing the Clyde by a ford and attacking the main body instead of fighting the 3000 at the Bridge. But, says Crichton, "the Duke was obstinate, and would pass no other way" than by the Bridge.³

Meanwhile the saints militant wasted much time and energy in quarrelling among themselves, the more zealous of them hating the "moderates" almost as much as they hated the King's men; and to this dissension their subsequent defeat would seem to have been in a large measure due. Had they possessed amongst them one man with the art of leadership—the power to inspire and control—they might have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the King's troops, for Monmouth, as his subsequent career revealed, had scant talent as a general, and the advantage both of numbers and position was with the insurgents.⁴

As his Grace neared the Bridge, "the rebels beat a parley, and sent over a Laird [Ferguson of Caitloch] and a Kirk preacher [David Hume]" who offered to make peace on the old preposterous condition that every subject in the

¹ "An exact relation of the defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell Bridge. Published by Authority. 1679." Crichton says four troops of English Dragoons.

² Commissioned June 11, 1679, to the Earl of Feversham's Royal Regiment of Dragoons. He had entered the army soon after the Restoration as a gentleman private in the Duke of York's troop of Life Guards. He led a charge of the Life Guards at Sedgemoor, and was made Brigadier-General in 1688. (Dalton, "Scots Army," p. 119.)

³ "Memoirs," p. 35. Crichton was present at the battle as lieutenant in Captain Stuart's Dragoons. His memory may perhaps be at fault in some particulars, but much of what he says is borne out by other evidence.

⁴ It seems impossible to ascertain with certainty the exact strength of the Covenanting force. Crichton says 14,000; the 1714 "Memoir of Dundee" says 12,000. Even allowing for exaggeration, it is certain that the insurgents had at least double the number of Monmouth's army, if not treble or quadruple. Sir John Resesby says that the King told him "he had an account that his [Scots] army did not consist of above 1,200 men. The rebels were above 6,000 strong." (See note, p. 61 *ante*.)

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kingdom should be compelled to take the Solemn League and Covenant.¹ The Duke of course replied that such a proposal could not be entertained, but that if the Covenanters would submit to the King's mercy "he would intercede for their pardon."²

The emissaries forthwith rejoined their party, but soon returned to announce that "if His Grace was pleased to confirm and agree to those terms they had already made in their last Declaration, they would lay down their arms, but upon no other account."³

Some among the insurgents would perhaps have been willing to surrender, but their leader, Robert Hamilton (whose sentiments after Drumclog have already been cited), would not hear of any compromise with "Babel's brats," and the banner borne by his followers was significantly inscribed, "For Christ and his Truths : no Quarters to ye active enemies of ye Covenant."⁴

The insurgents had inspirited themselves for the fight by erecting a huge gallows on which to hang their enemies when the Lord should have delivered them into their hands.⁵ This gallows has been the subject of many protests from the modern admirers of the Covenant, some of whom have maintained that neither it nor the "bluidy banner" ever existed except in the imagination of the Royalists. But it is clear to anyone who has made a study of Covenanting theology that the insurgents themselves would have been the last people to think any apology or denial necessary. They indubitably had the courage of their opinions, and on some such text as "And Phineas arose and executed judgment," or "I will arise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword," they would have held it a pious task—"a sweet-smelling offering to the Lord"—to string up their enemies. That

¹ Crichton, p. 35.

² *Ibid.* p. 36.

³ "The Great Victory, etc." (a newsletter, p. i., June 23 ; also Crichton, p. 36).

⁴ See a picture of it in Napier, vol. i., p. 288.

⁵ Crichton refers to the "cart full of new ropes" at the foot of the gallows, and says that the Covenanters looked upon the King's soldiers as certain to be vanquished and at their mercy. ("Memoirs," pp. 38, 39.) Andrew Guild in his "Bellum Bothwellianum" also mentions the gallows. (*Ibid.* Sir W. Scott's Note.)

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Mr Robert Hamilton, who had expressed such fervent penitence for having let any of the enemy escape his wrath, or that Balfour of Kinloch, who had superintended the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, should either of them be squeamish about hanging the King's soldiers would manifestly have been unreasonable; and, considering that zeal in smiting the Malignants was a special sign of grace, it is difficult to see why there should have been so much incredulity in our own day about this gallows.

"That you may judge of the temper of the men, and what cruelties they would have exercised had they been masters of the field," says the author of a newsletter (who, writing from Edinburgh "at midnight" two days after the battle,¹ seems determined like a true journalist to make the most of the occasion),

"I must not forget to inform you that there were likewise taken two pair of gallows, which they carried along with them; one was like our ordinary tools of that kind, and this was for the poorer sort. But the other, being intended for the gentry, was of a mode wholly new, and so curiously contrived that I know not well how to describe it. 'Tis one straight piece of wood with a screw, having twelve or fifteen branches which screwed up to the top, where there was a cross piece of wood full of long iron spikes on which the heads of Persons of Quality were to be fixed; and each of the aforesaid branches had an iron hook at the end to hang people on." ²

This very elaborate gallows on which the enemies of the Lord were to be offered up as a sacrifice was, however, erected

¹ "A Further and more Particular Account of the Total Defeat etc. . . . Edinburgh, June 24. At midnight."

² Professor Terry says that "the story of the Whig Gallows" may fitly rest "in the limbo of historical fiction" (p. 82 and note). For reasons already shown I cannot agree with him. The elaboration of a special gallows for "Persons of Quality" may be a journalistic embellishment, but it is carrying incredulity too far to assert that there was no gallows at all. "Whether it was the ordinary ward gallows or not," says Professor Terry, "it may safely be asserted that the Whigs had not erected it with the motive assigned to them." If they did not erect it with "the motive assigned to them," I am at a loss to know what other motive they could have had; a gallows, one may venture to suggest, is useful for one purpose only.

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in vain, for "the Dragoons and Musketeers fired all at once upon those who guarded the Bridge," the field-pieces played "warmly,"¹ and although the vigorous Hackston of Rathillet fought valiantly at the "head of a considerable body of Horse,"² "his Grace [of Monmouth] made an attack upon them with a like party of Horse" which charged with such courage and resolution "as soon caused the rebels to quit their post with very considerable loss."

Having gained the bridge, Monmouth marched his army across the Clyde towards the main force of the Covenanters, who waited on the moor "confiding in the great superiority of their numbers."

"After a sharp dispute," the rout of the insurgents was complete. The "Persons of Quality" for whom the gallows had been designed, behaved (according to the newsletter already quoted) "with a singular gallantry, especially Captain Grahame of Claverhouse, who with his own hands took the two standards."³

The picture of the battle of Bothwell Bridge that most readily recurs to memory is that of "the fiery and vindictive Grahame" of "Old Mortality"; most of us have been thrilled by Scott's spirited description of the fight, in which "the voice of Claverhouse was heard, even above the din of conflict, exclaiming to his soldiers, 'Kill, kill—no quarter! Think on Richard Grahame!'" (whose name by the way was Robert⁴).

Some of Claverhouse's admirers have urged against the accuracy of this picture that in 1679 he was a person of no importance and therefore could not have played so prominent a rôle as that assigned to him. It is true that Scott anticipates by three years his promotion to the rank of Colonel; but it may be more than doubted if his part in the battle was

¹ Crichton, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*

³ "A Further and more Particular Account, etc., etc.," page 2. Crichton represents Monmouth as remaining inactive until the bridge had been gained by the Dragoons. It must be remembered that Crichton was writing after a long interval of years, and that he detested and despised Monmouth and consequently grudged him any credit.

⁴ See p. 29 *ante*.

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so insignificant as many of his apologists would have us believe. Crichton refers to him as leading the right wing,¹ and the newsletter before-mentioned singles him out for especial laudation ; with the exception of Monmouth, whose "courage and bravery in charging the thickest of the rebels" is warmly praised, no other man's achievements are there mentioned in detail : "Our gallant General His Highness the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth" and "Captain Grahame of Claverhouse" share the honours of the day, and alone stand out from the crowd of "nobility and gentry" who are eulogised *en masse*.

The part played by Monmouth on this occasion was much less sentimental and more vigorous than that which tradition assigns to him. He appears to have shown great energy in pursuit of the enemy,² and Claverhouse, instead of sweeping onwards contrary to orders, was acting in strict obedience to his Commanding Officer when he hotly pursued the fugitives. To suppose that the orders were unwelcome is scarcely reasonable ; for although two years later, when the political conditions had changed, he urged the wisdom of pardoning the multitude and punishing the ringleaders, he would hardly have been human if in a pitched battle on June the 22nd, 1679, he had neglected the chance of atoning for his own defeat some three weeks previously.

"His troop [says the newsletter], remembering the slaughter the rebels made amongst them, resolved now to have full satisfaction, and therefore utterly refused either to give or take quarter. . . . News is brought that Captain Grahame of Claverhouse, having pursued a party of the rebels' Horse as far as Ayr,³ did there so warmly engage them that most of them are killed or taken prisoners ; amongst which last 'tis said, is Welsh, that notorious preaching Trumpet of Sedition.⁴ . . . Many of the prisoners seem

¹ "Memoirs," p. 36.

² See the "Lauderdale Papers," vol. iii., p. 172, and "An Exact Relation of the Defeat of the Rebels at Bothwell Bridge. Published by authority."

³ See also "Ormond Papers," vol. iv., p. 527. Hist. MSS. Comm.

⁴ See Chapter I., pp. 40-41 *ante*.

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to be very sensible of their wickedness in joining in this horrid rebellion, and do confess that their ministers drew them on to the same, by bold and seditious sermons perverting and abusing Scripture, scandalising and misrepresenting the Government and chief magistrates, [and giving] great assurances of large supplies and assistance both of men and money from England and Ireland. . . . 'Tis doubted not that this total defeat hath utterly crushed this dangerous rebellion, and will very much contribute to the peace of this nation for the future, by opening the eyes of the people, [and teaching them not to suffer themselves to be led into such] fatal enterprises by a turbulent sort of self-designing kirkmen."¹

Quarter had been given by the Royalist army to some 1200 prisoners who had surrendered,² but it was Dalzell, not Claverhouse, whom Crichton represents as so strongly disapproving of this measure. "Had I come a day sooner," said that old fire-eater, "these rogues should never have troubled his Majesty or the kingdom any more."³

General Dalzell—who during the Civil War had fought zealously for the King in England and Ireland as well as in Scotland—was a person of strong feelings and many adventures.⁴ During the Protectorate—when £200 and a free pardon had been offered to any man who would deliver him up dead or alive to the Cromwellian Government—he had gone abroad and entered the Russian service, where he attained the rank of General and distinguished himself in various wars against the Poles, the Turks and Tartars. Five years after the Restoration he returned to Scotland,

¹ "A Further and more Particular Account, etc.," pp. 3 and 4.

² Crichton (p. 134) estimates the enemy's loss at 700 or 800 killed and 1500 prisoners. The 1714 "Memoir of Dundee" also says 1500 prisoners, but a larger number slain. Law ("Memorials," p. 151) says 800 killed and 300 prisoners. Blackader ("Memoirs," p. 249) refers to 400 killed and about 1200 prisoners, and Wodrow the same. A letter in the "Ormond Papers," dated June 28, rates the prisoners at 1255, and the killed at 600 or 700. ("Ormond Papers." Hist. MSS. Comm., vol. iv., p. 527.)

³ Crichton's "Memoirs," pp. 37 and 38.

⁴ He was son of Thomas Dalzell of Binns, by his wife Janet, daughter of the first Lord Bruce of Kinloss. Born about 1599, he had started his active military career in the Rochelle expedition of 1628, when he was a captain in the Earl of Morton's regiment. (State Papers. Dom. Ser., p. 320, 1628.)

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bringing with him amongst other relics of his travels some new and improved thumbscrews,¹ and a letter from the Tsar testifying him to be "a man of virtue and honour, and of great experience in military matters."²

Crichton's anecdotes are not to be accepted without question, but the uncompromising speech he attributes to Dalzell is perfectly in keeping with that veteran warrior's repeatedly expressed opinions. Having withstood the Covenant in its first flush of popularity—when Scotland was aflame with enthusiasm and even Montrose had signed the famous document—Dalzell through life remained consistently averse to every type of Covenanter. That these sedition-mongers should be deported to the plantations, to Barbados, to Virginia, or New England, was the course he frankly advocated, and he expostulated sharply upon finding "even those who profess much for His Majesty" far too mercifully inclined towards that "damned crew."³

"My own opinion," he had written to Lauderdale in 1667, is that "this land will never be quiet till all the Non-conform[ist] ministers be banished, and the Puritan ladies sent to bear them company."⁴

His commission as Lieutenant-General came just too late, as it arrived in Edinburgh on the day of the battle and was not officially delivered to him until news had been received of the victory.

Monmouth's command however was only temporary, and on November the 6th, at a meeting of the Privy Council, a letter from the King was read nominating General Dalzell Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in Scotland, "with power to him to act as he shall think fit, and only to be liable and accountable to and judgeable by His Majesty himself"; "for Dalzell would not accept it otherwise," says Fountainhall,

¹ Fountainhall, "Historical Notices," vol. ii., p. 557.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 9, Pt. II., p. 235.

³ Letter dated December 27, 1666. Almack, "Scots Greys," App., p. 285, and "Lauderdale Papers," vol. ii., App., p. lxxv.

⁴ Autograph letter of January 15, 1667, discovered by Messrs Maggs Bros., Booksellers, 109 Strand; now in possession of Mr Charles Dalton and given in facsimile by him in "The Scots Army," 1909.

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though he promised "in difficult exigents" to take the advice of the Privy Council.¹

That Dalzell, a strict disciplinarian who had ordered one of his own soldiers to execution for stealing a pair of pistols and condemned another to death for sleeping at his post,² should be tender-hearted towards the Covenanters, who in his eyes and in the eyes of the law were traitors and rebels, is not to be expected. Even had he been inclined to mercy, his irritable temper might well have been roused by the Sanquhar Declaration. This remarkable effusion is well described by the Presbyterian minister Robert Law :

"They entered into a sacred bond, as they call it," in which disowning King Charles as a tyrant and vicegerent of Satan, they bind themselves to root out the King and all the royal race, "and not to be governed by any single person whatsoever; and to root out the nobles of the land, and severely to censure all the indulged ministers, unless their repentance prevent it."³ The King and nobility, they asserted, were abandoned by God and therefore should not have the option of repentance. "Thus ye see to what a prodigious height of error these men run," exclaims Law; and "not only they are for cutting off the King, nobles, and ministers, but for the killing (if they have power) of all that are not for their way."

This principle they put into practice whenever opportunity offered, and on being asked why they had murdered one of the King's Dragoons who was travelling alone and doing them no harm, "they answered they were obliged to do so by their sacred bond."⁴

Eventually, however, on July the 26th, 1681, their leader, Richard Cameron, fell in a skirmish at Airds Moss in which some seventy insurgents were slain or taken prisoners, not by Claverhouse but by Bruce of Earlshall, his lieutenant. Amongst the prisoners was Hackston of Rathillet, one of the

¹ Fountainhall, "Decisions," vol. i., p. 62.

² This latter sentence was remitted by request of the Duke of York. (Fountainhall, "Historical Observes," p. 28.)

³ Law's "Memorials," p. 154.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 155.

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assassins who had lain in wait for Archbishop Sharpe two years previously at Magus Muir, and had been in rebellion ever since. He was taken to Edinburgh and executed with all the barbarous formalities of the time.¹ Cameron's head was cut off and paraded through the streets of Edinburgh. A sermon he preached shortly before he was killed contained fervent assurances that "the Lord would lift up a Standard against Anti-Christ, and that the elect should go to the gates of Rome where 'Blood should be their Sign, and *No Quarters* their Word.'" ² These sentiments, and his death in arms against the King, entitled him to a high place in the fanatic martyrology. Amongst his colleagues was the almost equally notorious Donald Cargill, who having in June 1680 composed a "new Covenant" (which was confiscated and published by the Government), next took upon himself (on Sunday, September the 15th) to celebrate the Sabbath by excommunicating the King, the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Lauderdale, the Duke of Rothes, the King's Advocate Sir George Mackenzie, and General Dalzell.

It would appear that Claverhouse had not yet become famous as a persecutor, for though Cargill in the name of Christ and "by His Spirit" delivered up to Satan "Charles II., King of Scotland, for his mocking of God, his perjury," etc., etc., and by the same authority damned James, Duke of York for idolatry, and other Malignants for various offences enumerated with great gusto, Claverhouse is not included in this distinguished company.³ Cargill's admirers fixed copies of this excommunication on the town cross of Edinburgh and even on the doors of the Parliament House. The Reverend Robert Law, recognising the absurdity and futility of such proceedings,

¹ See "The Cloud of Witnesses," p. 39, ed. 1871, for his trial. Hackston displayed a stubborn courage, mocked the Chancellor Rothes, and seemed to take pleasure in shocking the Privy Council. Asked if the killing of Archbishop Sharpe was murder, he responded that "he thought it no sin to despatch a bloody monster," and asked if he were to be set at liberty whether he would kill others of the King's servants, he replied, that "he had no spare time to answer such frivolous and childish questions."

² Walker's "Biog. Pres.," i., 202.

³ See the excommunication, "Cloud of Witnesses," pp. 507, 510, ed. 1871.

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exclaims, "O, whither shall our shame go, at such a height of folly are some men arrived!"¹

Cargill was hanged in July 1681. Unlike the greater number of his brethren, whose courage was remarkable, he "behaved most timorously" at his trial and begged for his life.²

The insurgents, at this time, continues Law, were mostly malcontents, persons who had lost their estates, or who would not accept the King's favours; but the fanatical ministers, who stirred up these people, pretended to be "the only pure and sound Presbyterians in the land," and declared, in no measured terms, that their more moderate brethren were apostates and backsliders.³

On July the 28th, 1681, the Duke of York—who, in a kind of honourable banishment from Court, had been sent north as Lord High Commissioner—at the opening of the Parliament in Edinburgh, stated the King's intention inviolably to "maintain and protect the Protestant Religion as now established by law," and further remarked that his Majesty seriously recommended "effectual courses for suppressing those seditious and rebellious conventicles" which caused all the trouble in the country, and led to the promulgation of doctrines which were a scandal to Christianity.

The Parliament in response drew up an address reassuring the King as to Scottish loyalty: "Though some rebellious and deluded people have disturbed your Majesty's Government here, yet their principles are so extravagant, and so few persons of any note or quality are engaged with them, that we may justly hope their crimes cannot be imputed to this kingdom," the chief representatives of which, equally for the national honour and their personal safety, offered "cheerfully" to "provide suitable and sufficient remedies," being convinced that such "distractions and disorders" tended to the dissolution not only of the lawful government in Church and State, "but even of all human society."⁴

¹ "Memorials," p. 161.

² Fountainhall, "Historical Observes," p. 45, and "Chronological Notes," p. 18.

³ Law's "Memorials," p. 156.

⁴ "His Majesty's gracious Letter to his Parliament of Scotland, etc., with the Parliament's answer," published by "H.M.'s. special Command, 1681." Napier, vol. ii., p. 249.

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It will have been observed that it was Bruce of Earlshall and not Claverhouse who won the skirmish at Airds Moss, and though "the soldiers under Claverhouse" is a general traditional term for the royal army, it was only after he had become famous that chroniclers adopted the expedient of making him personally responsible not only for nearly everything that happened in Scotland, but for a great deal that did not happen anywhere at all.

It would be superfluous to dilate on Wodrow's accusations against the army at this time,¹ and even he is somewhat indefinite in his phraseology: "Multitudes of instances, once flagrant are now at this distance lost," while others, as he ingenuously expresses it, "were never distinctly known." Claverhouse could not have been concerned in any of these vague villainies, as his independent military and judicial command in the South-West had ceased. He was spending the greater part of his time in London, whence he wrote to his kinsman Lord Menteith, "I rejoice to hear" that "you have now taken my trade off my hand" and "are become the terror of the godly."²

It is not certain that he returned to Scotland—except perhaps on a brief visit—until the late autumn of 1681. In November of that year the Earl of Argyll (who as Lord Lorne in 1650 had been one of the interested and edified spectators of Montrose's death) was arrested for refusing to take the Test Oath. In obedience to a summons to attend the trial, Claverhouse set sail on November the 26th from Burntisland, and after a stormy passage³ arrived in Edinburgh.

Argyll was tried on December the 12th and 13th, and was

¹ "The details of the military history of our country from 1660 to 1707, have hitherto been left to the tender mercies of the ecclesiastical historians; but there is no doubt that there are in our national records ample materials for the vindication of the army and its officers from the odium which has been by many writers laid upon them." (Ross, "Old Scottish Regimental Colours," Preface, p. 1.)

² "Red Book of Menteith," vol. ii., p. 200. (See also a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queensberry.—Napier, vol. i., 309.)

³ *Vide* some doggerel verses by the Rev. Alexander Tyler (Minister of Kinnettles), entitled "*The Tempest, being an account of a dangerous passage from Burntisland to Leith in a boat called the Blessing, in company with Claverhouse, several Gentle-*

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judged guilty of treason,¹ Claverhouse being one of the jurors.²

Claverhouse's presence on this occasion has, in view of the long-standing animosity between the Grahames and the Campbells, been denounced by the authoress of "The Despot's Champion" as "simply iniquitous," and certainly it is now universally recognised as one of the fundamental principles of justice that a man should not be tried by his personal or hereditary enemies. But in the seventeenth century, those who elected to play the dangerous game of politics knew very well that if they overreached themselves their heads would pay the forfeit; and in Scotland when a politician was so unfortunate as to fall, it was almost invariably his lot to appear before a tribunal in which his enemies predominated.

Even if the Government realised that a neutral jury was much to be desired, it is open to doubt whether in 1681 it would have been possible to find in Scotland any man who was neutral in his views. The utmost that could be done was to select men of honour who had proved themselves capable of subordinating their private prejudices to their sense of public justice. That Claverhouse was exceptionally well able to keep a firm control over his feelings will be very evident to anyone who studies his life, and—granting that we should judge a situation according to the logic of character

women, Ministers, and a whole throng of common passengers, upon the 26 November 1681."

"Courage is still the same on Land and Sea,
He who can boldly kill, dares bravely die;
Yet he whose Ire hath smil'd on Seas of Blood,
Looks pale on Water, in his coolest Mood.
Souldiers stern Fire abhorres the death of Slaves,
It can't Resist nor Vengeance wreck on Waves, etc."

¹ "Argyll," notes Fountainhall, who was one of his counsel at the trial, "was much hated for oppressing his creditors, and neither paying his own nor [his] father's debts" ("Chronological Notes," p. 21); but his condemnation has been very generally considered severe. He escaped from Edinburgh Castle, December 20, 1681, disguised as a page to Lady Sophia Lindsay, and on December 23 sentence of death was pronounced against him. He lived abroad for the next four years, and his house in Holland was a rallying point for malcontents. His subsequent fate will appear in Chapter V. *supra*.

² Justiciary Register, H.M.'s General Register House, Edinburgh.

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—it may at least be conceded that he was not the man to be swayed by personal motives into taking a mean advantage of an enemy. In 1680, when the young Marquess of Montrose had quarrelled with him and striven to get him into disgrace, he wrote to Lord Menteith that he had tried to explain the various circumstances to the Duke of York “as far as could be done without wronging my Lord Montrose’s reputation too much, which I should be unwilling to do, whatever he do by me.”¹ Though this is not a parallel to the case of Argyll, it is nevertheless an indication of character. Claverhouse was not quixotic, but he was eminently a gentleman, and his savagely vindictive nature as depicted by Covenanting tradition is nowhere discoverable in the realm of solid fact. Though living in turbulent times, and inheriting strong Cavalier principles, he is remarkable for self-restraint and rational judgment in an age of violent extremes. “I am as sorry to see a man die,” he wrote on a future occasion, “even a Whig, as any of themselves; but when one dies justly for his own faults, and may save a hundred to fall in the like, I have no scruple.”

Early in 1682 Claverhouse, after a long interval, was once more sent to the West, as newly-appointed Sheriff and Commander of the forces in Galloway, and the next reference to him of any importance is to be found in a letter to Sir George Gordon of Haddo from Lord Queensberry, who reports that the country is fairly tranquil. A few rebels meet occasionally in Galloway, he says, but as “their business is only to drink and quarrel” neither Church nor State need fear them. Nevertheless he is “still of opinion that the sooner garrisons be placed and a competent party be sent with Claverhouse for scouring that part of the country, the better.” Moreover he hears that “field conventicles continue in Annandale and Galloway; but all will certainly vanish upon Claverhouse’s arrival.”²

Queensberry’s comforting belief that the fanatics met only

¹ See Chapter III. *supra*.

² Letter dated Sanquhar, January 2, 1682. “Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen,” Spalding Club, p. 5.

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to drink and quarrel was quickly shattered by the fact that some forty or fifty of them, almost immediately gathering together at Lanark, pronounced a second excommunication of the King, burnt the Act of Parliament relating to the Test, and affixed the Sanquhar declaration to Lanark town cross.

On January the 30th, Claverhouse, who had been appointed Sheriff of Wigtown and Bailie of the regality of Tongland, was empowered to constitute criminal courts and to try all delinquents by jury, and "cause justice to be administered on them according to the laws and acts of Parliament of this realm." He had also been reappointed Sheriff-Depute of the shire of Dumfries and Steward of Kirkcudbright and Annandale, with a reservation in favour of the hereditary jurisdictions of Queensberry and Livingstone.

He proposed then "to fall to work with all that have been in the rebellion, or accessory thereto by giving men, money, or arms; and next reseters¹; and after that field conventicles." He thought it advisable, he says, "to threaten much, but forbear severe execution for a while."

On March the 1st he writes to Queensberry to suggest a plan which he is "sure will please in all things but one, that it will be somewhat out of the King's pocket." He suggests that a hundred Dragoons should be raised to keep the peace in Galloway, as without permanent forces in garrison he doubts if a state of tranquillity can be maintained in so disaffected a country. To lessen the expense, he offers to take the superintendence of them without any pay, and he then goes into rather amusing details anent the raising of sufficient money to provide pay for the other officers and the rank and file.² The first suggestion is to do away with Lauderdale's governorship of the Bass Rock, "seeing that he has nothing to guard but solan geese and ministers. The first

¹ *i.e.* harbourers of rebels.

² The details of this scheme may interest military readers. Claverhouse says that "The King may give maintenance to the men and the country to the horses. . . . And if the King will do his part, I shall undertake for the country as a Galloway laird" (in virtue of owning Freugh in Wigtownshire). "The ways I will propose will lessen the expense extremely. First, if the Duke pleases, I offer myself to take the surintendency of them without any pay; and for the next officer, who is to be the drudge, he may have six pounds a day by taking two men off every one of our troops of Horse. We were

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will not flee away, and the others would be as well in Blackness or Dumbarton." The soldiers at the Bass would be much better employed in Galloway; it might even be well to "sell that rock," and devote the profits to the new project. Moreover, remarks Claverhouse, "Your Lordships of the Treasury might find a way to cut off some idle pension. . . . Whatever way be taken to do it, we need more Horse and Dragoons."

What he desires to form is "a brave troop of Fusiliers¹ or Grenadiers"²; he would "breed them to either or both" as the Duke of York pleases. If this is not approved, concludes Claverhouse, "I may break my head to no purpose."

Failing the moral effect of the extended forces he fears he will be obliged to "do as others do, and get as much

sixty, and there is one taken off for the artillery, so there now remains fifty nine . . . but if these two were taken off, we would be just the establishment of Holland, which is fifty seven, and with the corporals in rank as they ought to be [this] makes twenty in each rank which is right." As for the 100 men at sixpence a day, if 24 are taken from the garrison at the Bass, this leaves 76 "which would come to about seven hundred pounds a year" (£693, to be precise).—Claverhouse to Queensberry, March 1, 1682. Newton of Galloway (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., pp. 268-269).

¹So called from using fusils—i.e. flintlock muskets. The fusil was more easily and quickly handled than the matchlock. (Colonel Clifford Walton, "British Standing Army," p. 332.) "The armament of Fusileer regiments most nearly approached that of the present century (1894); it consisted of fusils with slings, cartridge-boxes, swords, and bayonets." (*Ibid.* p. 438.) These of course were not the bayonets of to-day, but clumsy "knives whose blades are one foot long, made both for cutting and thrusting, the half being made to fill the bore of the musket." (*Pallas Armata*, 1670.)

²Grenadiers were so called from the use of grenades. "Grenades have at different times been made of such materials as glass, wood, bronze, and gun-metal, and it has not always been customary to make these missiles in a spherical form. They have been found cubical in shape, to possess the advantage of resting in security on the edge of a rampart or a vessel's gunwale. The spherical grenade was most common, and was used extensively on land, and in naval action, throughout the eighteenth century, and was reintroduced on shore in the recent Russo-Japanese war. Though this form of missile was actually employed in the fifteenth century, it was not in common use until the seventeenth, when companies of Grenadiers were formed in France in 1670, and in England a few years later." (*Household Brigade Magazine*, January 1909, p. 364.) Horse Grenadiers in the field fought as Mounted Infantry. They "dismounted, linked their horses, fired, screwed their daggers into the muzzles of their fusils, charged, returned their daggers, fired and threw their grenades by ranks, the centre and rear ranks advancing in succession through the intervals between the file leaders. They then grounded their arms, went to the right about, and dispersed; and at the preparative or beating to arms they fell in with a huzza. They then slung their fusils, marched to their horses, unlinked and mounted, after which they fired their pistols and muskets on horseback." (Treatise on Military Discipline, 1684, quoted by Sir George Arthur, "Story of the Household Cavalry," vol. i., pp. 117, 118.)

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money as I can—which I have not thought on as yet—by putting the law in execution.”

Presumably the Duke of Lauderdale, or his nephew who acted as his deputy, was not disposed to relinquish the sinecure of governing the solan geese and the ministers ; while to cut down “some idle pension,” though easy enough from the point of view of a man who would himself offer to do more work without additional pay, does not seem to have been considered a feasible plan by their Lordships of the Treasury.

Nevertheless Claverhouse did not “break his head to no purpose.” Towards the end of March when he had captured M'Lellan of Barscob (fugitive from the battles of Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge) and several other prisoners, he escorted them to Edinburgh that he might give the Lords of the Privy Council an account of his proceedings.

Writing to Queensberry (March the 25th, 1682) he says, “They all seem satisfied, and particularly the General. How long it will be so, God knows.”¹ There was no love lost between Claverhouse and the Commander-in-Chief, who—apparently with Drumclog in his mind—complained of the folly of splitting up the King's forces into “petty parties, at the discretion of some people who hazards them upon very unequal terms.”² Throughout his career, Claverhouse at every turn was hampered by the envy and jealousy of his colleagues and superiors, who covertly resented the favour with which he was regarded by the King and the Duke of York. That his way of reducing the country to order proved more successful than Dalzell's did not—it scarcely need be pointed out—propitiate the peppery-tempered General.

Claverhouse spent the entire spring in Galloway in his official capacity, and the drastic but effectual methods he employed are best described in a report delivered by him in person to the Privy Council.³

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. i., p. 271.

² Dalzell to the Lord Justice Clerk. Napier, vol. ii., p. 398.

³ “Aberdeen Papers.” Undated. (Headed “*For the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. Claverhouse being called before the Committee of Council gave this account of the affairs of Galloway.*”) I see with surprise that Professor Terry rejects this report on the ground that “it is hard to understand why Aberdeen should have been so aloof from Edinburgh as to require so lengthy a report,” and that “there is no evidence

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Called before the Committee, he said there was no need to tell them what had been the state of Galloway before he went thither, seeing that "the Government had looked on it for many months before as almost in a state of war, and it was thought unsafe for anything less than an army to venture into it." On his arrival he found "above three or four hundred people actually guilty of the late rebellion, who, notwithstanding, had lived these three years by-past almost in perfect freedom." The churches were quite deserted, "no honest man, no minister in safety."

Claverhouse then stated that the first work he did was to provide magazines of corn and straw in every part of the country, that he might conveniently go wherever the King's service required, and move about with his forces so rapidly that nobody could know where to surprise him.

He quartered his soldiers on the obstinately disaffected and resorted to the severe expedient of rifling the houses and imprisoning the servants of those who remained stubborn, so that when their wives and children were reduced to starvation they were thankful to have recourse to the safe-conduct they had previously refused, and willing to "renounce their principles," and "swear never to rise in arms against the King, his heirs and successors, or any having commission or authority from him." He found none, he adds, "ambitious of the honour of martyrdom."

Having proved that he was not to be trifled with,¹ he proceeded to take milder measures. Writing to Queensberry that it was Claverhouse's composition." (Terry, p. 130, note.) But Aberdeen would of course have required a report if he had been absent from the Council; and the internal evidence seems to me conclusive; the matter and expressions both tally precisely with Claverhouse's letters to Queensberry. Leaving it out of the question that the Lord Chancellor is not likely to have preserved a bogus report, it may be observed that this lucid and incisive narrative abounds in characteristic touches, such as "Amongst all the prisoners he made, he found none that was ambitious of the honour of martyrdom." See the report *in extenso*, Napier, vol. ii., pp. 276-278, and "Letters addressed to George, Earl of Aberdeen," pp. 101-111. In the latter work (which is carelessly edited and calls Claverhouse "Sir John Graham") it is printed by mistake among the documents of 1683, when from the text it obviously belongs to the previous year.

¹ "My humble opinion is that it should be unlawful for the donators to compound with anybody for the behoof of the rebel, till once he have made his peace; for I would have all footing in this country taken from them that will stand out."—Claverhouse to Queensberry, February 16, 1682 (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 265).

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he remarks that the manner of procedure in other places is to put the laws severely into execution against all recusants. This, he maintains, is a mistake, for it serves only to "exasperate and alienate the hearts of the whole body of the people," and it "renders three desperate where it gains one."

Surely it is wiser to "pardon the multitude and punish the ringleaders where the number of the guilty is great." Therefore he had called two or three parishes together at one church, and, after reading them the gist of the Acts of Parliament against the fanatics, he stated that, however they might in the past have offended against the Government, they need not be the least apprehensive if they now had a mind to start afresh as orderly and sober members of the community. His Majesty the King had "no design to ruin any of his subjects he could reclaim," nor did the King's Sheriff desire to enrich himself at their expense; "those who would live regularly, might expect favour."

The following Sunday there were about 300 people at Kirkcudbright Church, "some that for seven years before had never been there." "I must say," he comments, "that I never saw people go from one extremity to another more cavalierly." ¹

He had further stated to the people "that whatever their guilt was, if they gave obedience they need fear no great severity." ² Up to the beginning of April, he tells Queensberry, he had not imprisoned any heritors; but those who "remained obstinate" he eventually imprisoned and fined. "Upon offer of obedience" he accepted a bond for a blank sum, filling in "may be the twentieth part," and discharging the offenders for that much, leaving the rest over their heads as security for their good carriage in future. By making some

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 272.

² "There will be need to make examples of the stubborn that will not comply. Nor will there be any danger in this after we have gained the great body of the people, to whom I am become acceptable enough, having passed all bygones upon bonds of regular carriage hereafter. Your Deputes were like to have taken measures that were not so secure nor acceptable. But I have diverted them, and they are to take the course I do."—Claverhouse to Queensberry, Kirkcudbright, April 1, 1682. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 272.

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examples of "the first gentry of the country" he created a sensation that saved him further trouble, "the rest . . . giving timeous obedience."¹

Finally, he declared to the Committee, "It may now be safely said that Galloway is not only as peaceable but as regular as any part of the country on this side Tay; and the rebels are reduced without blood, and the country brought to obedience and conformity." The authority of the Church is restored, and the indulged ministers can live in safety.

Satisfied that Claverhouse's system was calculated to produce equally decisive results in other disaffected quarters, the Privy Council decided to send him with General Dalzell to Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, that he might point out what was "necessary to be done as to the settling of the peace of both these shires."² Dalzell's feelings may readily be conjectured; his autocratic nature must have resented bitterly the notion of being instructed by a youthful Captain of Horse, for whose new-fangled methods he obviously felt the utmost scorn.

"You and Claverhouse," runs the Council's order, "are to come in with all possible diligence, and give an account to the Lord Chancellor of your procedure." Apparently it was for this reason that Claverhouse spent part of June in Edinburgh; he was detained there two days later than he had anticipated, which delay was, as he remarks, fortunate for him, for it probably saved him from assassination at the hands of a large party of armed Covenanters who were "seeking the enemies of God."³

Presumably this, and other failures to slay the "Persecutor" will account for the belief, deep-rooted to this day among the south-western peasantry, that he was under the special protection of the powers of darkness. The fact of his emerging safely from a series of campaigns against the Covenanters may well have given rise to the supposition that

¹ "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," p. 110.

² Orders to the Commander in Chief. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 282.)

³ Claverhouse to Queensberry, Dumfries, June 17, 1682. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 273. See also Queensberry to Aberdeen. ("Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," p. 23.)

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he was invulnerable. Though constantly exposed to danger, he seemed to bear a charmed life till the fatal day at Killiecrankie. The vulgar are still of opinion that no ordinary shot or steel could hurt him, and they tell marvellous stories of the silver bullet which pierced his magic coat and sent his soul at last to the Arch-Fiend whom he had served so well.

The Red Book of Menteith
1678-1681

Tradition attributes to him many epigrammatic speeches, to which his authentic writings give the lie, by showing that he had not sufficient command of grammar to have put his thoughts into the clear emphatic shape in which they are preserved, if he had ever formed them in his mind.—JOHN HILL BURTON, History of Scotland.

Your friends who knew him best were in doubt if his civil or military capacities were the most eminent. . . . None had more the ability to insinuate and persuade. — COLIN, THIRD EARL OF BALCARRES (to King James).

Chapter III: The Red Book of Menteith, 1678-1681

AT the time when Hackston of Rathillet was informing the Privy Councillors that he had no leisure to answer their "frivolous and childish questions"¹ concerning the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, and when Richard Cameron's head was being paraded through the streets of Edinburgh,² though Claverhouse's troop had been responsible for the capture of these prisoners, Claverhouse himself was more pleasantly employed. From the suppression of the rebellion which had opened with his defeat at Drumclog, to the beginning of the year 1682 when he was made Sheriff of Wigtownshire, he evidently spent the greater part of his time in England; and the few letters of his which guide us at this period show glimpses of him scribbling "in haste" because he was bound for Windsor, talking to the Duke of York on evident terms of intimacy "only by way of discourse," going to Dunkirk "with the envoys to see the Court of France," or paying visits in the then fashionable neighbourhood of the Strand.

The Sign of the Blue Boar, near St Clement's Church, would seem to have been the seventeenth-century equivalent to Claridge's or the Berkeley; and there lodged Sir James

¹ "Cloud of Witnesses," p. 39, ed. 1871.

² Cameron's benediction from the Rev. John Welsh (who had been initiating him into his pastoral duties) was "Go your way, Richie, and set the fire of Hell to their tails!" ("Scots Worthies," p. 359.)

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and Lady Grahame, and their daughter Helen, heiress-presumptive of the eighth and last Earl of Menteith, and (through her mother) co-heiress of Bishop John Bramhall, Primate of Ireland. With the prestige of a royal descent—from David, Earl of Strathearn, son of Robert II., by his second wife Euphemia Ross¹—and with the prospect of succession to the Menteith lands and Bramhall money, it was inevitable that Helen Grahame should not want for suitors. But before describing her matrimonial concerns it will be found illuminating to call to memory an ancient scandal regarding the birth of Robert III., ancestor of Charles II. and James II., and of their loyal servant Claverhouse.

“It is very strange,” said Claverhouse’s friend Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, “that the fanatics, who think that every throw of the dice is influenced by a special Providence, will not allow that God does by a special Providence take care who shall be his representative”²; and the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings had been attacked in its foundation by Buchanan’s assertion that Robert III. had been born before the marriage of his parents, and only legitimated by Act of Parliament, and that therefore to Parliament and not to Heaven belonged the power of making or unmaking monarchs.

No suggestion could have been more repugnant to the legitimist ideal of monarchy: “If God give you not succession, defraud never the nearest by right . . . for kingdoms are ever at God’s disposition, and in that case we are but life-renters; it lying no more in the King’s than in the people’s hands to dispossess the rightful heir.”³ Such was the firm conviction of the Royal Stuarts, and when in Charles I.’s day the seventh Earl of Menteith was said by his enemies to have boasted of blood “redder than the King’s,” the King was desperately affronted.

The foundation for Menteith’s supposed expression was an

¹ See Pedigree.

² “That the Lawful Successor cannot be debarred from succeeding to the Crown; maintained against Dolman, Buchanan and others, by Sir George Mackenzie, His Majesty’s Advocate in Scotland” (p. 209 of his “*Jus Regium*”). London 1684.

³ King James VI.’s advice to Prince Henry (“*Basilikon Doron*,” p. 173).

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old story to the effect that Robert II. had in his youth lived with but not married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Adam Mure of Rowallan, "whom because of her extraordinary beauty he had loved very passionately," and that it was only after the death of his Queen, Euphemia Ross, that he married the said Elizabeth and prevailed upon Parliament to legitimate her eldest son, who came to the throne as Robert III., excluding the posterity of Queen Euphemia. In point of fact Elizabeth Mure had been the King's first wife, and even though their eldest son may have been born out of wedlock, the right of his descendants to the throne was not thereby impaired, inasmuch as the subsequent marriage of his parents would, according to canon law, have legitimated him without the need of any Parliamentary intervention.¹ But, as the Papal dispensation for the marriage was not discovered in the Vatican archives till 1789, the enemies of the monarchy in the seventeenth century could with some show of plausibility work up a case for the prior claims of the offspring of Euphemia Ross, from whose eldest son David, Earl of Strathearn, Lord Menteith (it must be remembered) was descended.²

The hapless Menteith protested solemnly that he had never used the treasonable words attributed to him, but his denials were of no avail against the malice of his enemies, and he was exiled to the stronghold of his race, Inch Talla Castle, situated in lonely dignity on one of the beautiful islands of the Lake of Menteith.³

¹ "It was a principle of the canon law that the children of persons who had not been married were rendered legitimate by a subsequent marriage of the parents." (Bishop Dowden, "The Mediæval Church in Scotland," p. 266 and note.)

² The vexed question of Robert II.'s wives, again revived in 1692 and 1788, was not finally settled until 1789, when the dispensations for both marriages were discovered in the Vatican archives. That for the marriage with Elizabeth Mure was given by Pope Clement VI. on November 22, 1347. Seven and a half years later, May 2, 1355, Pope Innocent VI. gave a dispensation for King Robert's marriage with Euphemia, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, and widow of John Randolph, Earl of Moray. As the nine children of Elizabeth Mure cannot all have been born in seven and a half years (unless some were twins), it appears probable therefore that Robert III. would only have been legitimated by the subsequent marriage of his parents.

³ For details as to the Menteith, Strathearn and Airth earldoms, and the substitution of the title of Airth for that of Menteith, see Balfour Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. i., article "Graham, Earl of Airth."

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In spite of the King's harsh treatment, Menteith remained faithful to the royal cause, and refused to take the Covenant. His woods of Aberfoyle were cut down by order of the invading force of General Monck; his Castle of Airth was made a garrison by Cromwell's troops; his eldest son, Montrose's friend Lord Kinpont, fell beneath the dagger of an assassin; and Menteith, though he survived to see the Restoration, profited little by this, but died in the following year, leaving to his grandson, the eighth and last Earl of Menteith (and second Earl of Airth), a heritage of poverty and misfortune.

In the "Red Book of Menteith" there is a lengthy and complex correspondence addressed to Lord Menteith, concerning the threatened extinction of his title. In 1678 he was childless, and without much hope of children; his wife was one of those gay ladies who, like the "fair gracious dames" in the old romance, had "two friends or three beside their lords," and her lord in consequence had separated from her. Menteith's nearest relation was his uncle Sir James Grahame¹; but Sir James's only unmarried daughter, Helen, though recognised as heiress to the Menteith lands, could not inherit the title which had been granted solely to heirs male.

In virtue of the fact that his present impoverished condition was due mainly to his grandfather's fidelity to the royal cause, Menteith was emboldened to hope that the King might consent to some arrangement by which the title could be preserved. The simplest way out of the difficulty was that his cousin and heiress, Helen, should marry some member of the Grahame family, on condition that by royal favour the earldom should be transferred to her husband and the heirs male of the marriage.

The dukedom of Hamilton had been kept alive by a somewhat similar arrangement, and with so illustrious a precedent Menteith's hopes seemed eminently reasonable.²

¹ See Pedigree.

² The Duke of Hamilton who *d.s.p.* September 12, 1651, of wounds received at the battle of Worcester, was succeeded by his niece Lady Anna Hamilton. She married William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk (younger brother of the Marquis Douglas), and he became Duke of Hamilton in right of his wife.

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The opening of the correspondence is missing, so we have no means of knowing at whose suggestion Menteith selected Claverhouse—a descendant of Robert III.—as his prospective successor. At a later date, when Montrose had entered into competition, Claverhouse wrote to Menteith: “Whatever were the motives obliged your Lordship to change your resolutions to me, yet I shall never forget the obligations that I have to you for the good designs you once had for me, both before my Lord Montrose came in the play and after, in your endeavouring to make me next in the entail, especially in so generous a way as to do it without so much as letting me know it.”¹ The non-existence of the beginning of the correspondence makes this difficult to explain, but it would seem to suggest that there might have been some idea of adopting him as heir without any matrimonial obligation.

The letters in question have a value quite apart from their genealogical interest, and are worth reading carefully, not only as sidelights on the social history of the seventeenth century, but for the indications they give of Claverhouse’s prospects at the outset of his career in Scotland.

After having set forth to Menteith his various qualifications, he “waited on my Lord Montrose” and told him “all that had passed” between Lord Menteith and himself; whereupon Montrose seemed “very well satisfied,” and Claverhouse accordingly wrote to Menteith to know if he continued of the same mind. There could be nothing more advantageous for him than to settle his affairs and establish his successor in good time; this (urged Claverhouse) could do him no harm if he were ever to have children and would be much for his “quiet and comfort” if he had none, for whoever he made choice of would be “in place of a son.”

Moreover there were advantages in being able to select an heir, rather than leave the matter to capricious Nature:

“You know that Julius Cæsar had no need to regret the want of issue, having adopted Augustus; for he knew certainly that he had secured to himself a thankful and useful friend,

¹ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 183.

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as well as a wise successor, neither of which he could have promised himself by having children, for nobody knows whether they beget wise men or fools, besides that the ties of gratitude and friendship are stronger in generous minds than those of nature. . . . But, my Lord, if these reasons cannot persuade you it is your interest to pitch on me, and if you can think on anybody that can be more proper to restore your family and contribute more to your comfort and satisfaction, make frankly choice of him, for without that you can never think of getting anything done for your family ; it will be for your honour that the world see you never had thoughts of alienating your family ; then they will look no more upon you as the last of so noble a race, but will consider you rather as the restorer than the ruiner, and your family rather rising than falling ; which, as it will be the joy of our friends and relations, so will it be the confusion of our enemies."

He had previously detailed the reasons why Lord Menteith had cause to be satisfied with his present choice : primarily that there was no other suitable member of the Grahame family who would be willing to merge his territorial name in that of Menteith, and no other who stood a better chance of winning Helen Grahame, "which," he says, "brings in a great interest and continues your family in the right line."

These letters to Menteith are the most personal of Claverhouse's correspondence and in the following sentence we catch a glimpse of the keenly ambitious, possibly somewhat disappointed, but certainly determined man, who though he may be personally modest¹ is nevertheless on general principle intensely proud, with that antique pride which, though too proud to be vain, yet dares to promise great things in the certainty of its own fixed resolve at all costs to perform them. "I will do your family no dishonour," he says, "seeing there

¹ During his Highland campaign in 1689 he wrote to Macleod of Macleod that he had received letters from the King which were "so kind" that he was "ashamed" to quote them, the King counting for "great services" that in which "I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my duty." (See Chapter X. *supra*.)

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is nobody you could make choice of has toiled so much for honour as I have done, though it has been my misfortune to attain but a small share.”¹

Claverhouse's aspirations were not of a kind to be easily satisfied; and he apparently was at his happiest and most vigorous in the last few months of his life when, with a price on his head, and tremendous odds against him, he was toiling for that cause which was his ruling passion. It is perhaps because he has appeared to many of us less as a man than as the embodiment of an obsolete ideal of loyalty, that he has not taken the same hold of our imaginations or wrought so strongly on our sympathies as some other historic characters who have less rigidly and consistently subordinated their private lives to their public careers. The world should see, he said, that it was not in the power of “love or any other folly” to alter his loyalty²; and while recognising his devoted loyalty and strenuous sense of duty, his admirers have been apt to take for granted a coldness of temperament, of which on closer investigation we can find no trace.

“And then, my Lord,” he writes to Menteith, “for my respect and gratitude to your Lordship, you will have no reason to doubt of it if you consider with what a frankness and easiness I live in with all my friends.”

Could some of his personal letters to his friends be discovered we should then be in a position to form something approaching a complete estimate of the man. The passionate ardour of Montrose's nature, had anyone doubted it, could be made evident from his letters to Charles I. The large-hearted tenderness that underlay the seeming harshness of Strafford's character is easily to be seen in his familiar correspondence, and most of all in the last valiant and noble letter to his wife; but with one exception we know nothing of Claverhouse's letters to the King for whose sake his name was struck off the roll of arms and his “fame and honour” declared to be extinct,³ nor to his wife Jean Cochrane whom

¹ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 171.

² See Chapter IV., p. 126 *supra*.

³ Acts of Parl. Scot., vol. ix., Appendix.

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he must have truly loved when despite his worldly wisdom he could reconcile himself to marrying the "daughter of a fanatic family."¹

Those who complain of a certain dryness in Claverhouse's private life have only realised imperfectly that they have scant material for judgment. Had we even any of his letters to his "good friend the Advocate," Mackenzie of Rosehaugh,² to the great Highlander Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, who in his northern campaign gave him such ungrudging affection and allegiance—or to Lord Balcarres who was so much his friend as to believe that he had seen him in a vision at the hour of his death, and who as an old man went "out in the '15," not from any hope of success but for the sake of an honourable tradition—we might then know what he was to his friends. As it is, we can only judge from such facts as have been preserved, and from the few elliptical but significant utterances of the men who knew him long and intimately in daily life. It is this scarcity of material which excuses the seeming want of proportion in dwelling on his correspondence concerning the woman whom he did not marry, and the man whose heir he did not become.

In one of his letters Claverhouse admitted himself "in love with the fair isles of Menteith," and anyone who knows those same fair isles will be most heartily in sympathy with him; but it is not therefore necessary or warrantable to assume from this (as some of his biographers have done) that he had never even seen the heiress.³ Apart from the improbability of his committing himself to such a foolhardy proceeding as to take a wife without first seeing her, his statement to Menteith that there was no one more likely

¹ Fountainhall, "Chronological Notes," p. 128.

² Claverhouse thanking Queensberry for news (March 1, 1682) refers to "My good friend the Advocate who writes to me very kindly, but very little in return of anything I desire of him. But I know he ordinarily loses the letters and forgets the business before he have the time to make any return." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 268.)

Mackenzie's second wife (m. 1670) was Claverhouse's cousin, Margaret Haliburton of Pitcur, whose eldest brother was one of his warmest supporters in 1689 and was mortally wounded at Killiecrankie. Claverhouse's maternal grandmother, Lady Northesk, was *née* Magdalen Haliburton of Pitcur. (See Pedigree.)

³ "Clavers, the Despot's Champion," p. 81.

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than himself to win the lady would appear to indicate not only that he was personally known to her but that he had been not ungraciously received.

Some of Claverhouse's detractors—unable to find in him the slightest trace of any of the modish vices, but none the less determined that he must at all costs be condemned—have treated his aspiration to the hand of Helen Grahame as if it were inherently immoral for a man to value money and possessions in connection with a wife. This outcry on the part of easily scandalised biographers calls forth the protest that if the prospective alliance was, as has been said, one mainly of ambition on the part of Claverhouse, his choice when guided by his head was wiser than the marriage he was eventually to make when prompted solely by his heart, a marriage which exposed him to considerable misrepresentation and consequent acute annoyance.

Helen Grahame would have been, as far as it is possible to judge, in every way a suitable wife for him; her birth, connections and fortune, were such as should please a man at once fastidious and worldly. Of her appearance it is not so easy to make certain, for her portrait (now at Loudoun Castle) has been dulled by time, and never even at its best has been a masterpiece. Allowing charitably for the artist's lack of skill, and for the fading of his paints, she may have been a pretty woman; and the references to her in the Rawdon Papers and "*The Red Book of Menteith*" leave the impression that in character she was both admirable and attractive.

Although she was an heiress, and as such no doubt much courted, the fortune was not on one side only. Claverhouse by this time was already a rising man, in favour with the Duke of York, and considered likely to rise still higher. His birth was equal to that of the lady he proposed to marry, and as to money and possessions he did not come empty-handed. Lord Menteith, writing of him as "all that is noble and virtuous," and "exceedingly well accomplished," adds that he possesses "a free estate upwards of six hundred pounds sterling yearly" (equal to about £2000 a year in modern

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money), besides being "Captain of the standing troop of Horse in this kingdom, which is very considerable."

"It would be," argued Menteith to Sir James Grahame, "a singular happiness" for the family to secure so good a match; "I shall never consent to the marriage unless it be Claverhouse, whom I say again is the only person of all I know fittest and most proper to marry your daughter."¹

Claverhouse also wrote to the Grahame parents, and asked permission to go over to Ireland and conclude his wooing. On February the 14th no reply had reached him, and he wrote to tell Menteith that Montrose had given him "ill news that an Irish gentleman has carried away the lady; but it is not certain, though it be too probable."

This was a false alarm; yet in spite of Menteith's emphatic eulogies of Claverhouse, Sir James and Lady Grahame apparently had other views for Miss "Nelly." As their letters of refusal have perished it is impossible to say on what pretext they declined the "singular happiness" offered to them; but Menteith, in spite of his previous declaration that he would never consent to the marriage of his heiress with anyone except Claverhouse, readjusted himself to circumstances, and wrote in November of the same year to Sir James Grahame that since he had not been pleased to accept "the Laird of Claverhouse to match with that young lady" there was now another possible husband for her, "a very honourable and noble person"; who proved to be no less a one than the Marquess of Montrose.

Sir James and Lady Grahame and their daughter were then in London, staying in their usual quarters "at the Sign of the Blue Boar, at Mr Gumleye's house, over against St Clement's Church, Strand"; and in London also were Montrose and Claverhouse.

On the rejection of Claverhouse's suit, Menteith had arranged with Sir James Grahame that Montrose instead should marry the lady; but Montrose, though he consented, did not prove ardent, and to Lady Grahame's evident disappointment did not show any anxiety to conclude the negotiations. The

¹ "Red Book of Menteith," vol. i., p. 422.



John Grabame of Claverhouse
from a contemporary Miniature

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affair dragged on for some time; Montrose, though his affections would appear to have been elsewhere entangled, did not definitely break with the Grahames, but, says Claverhouse, "went there and entered in terms to amuse them till I should be gone,¹ for then I was thinking every day of going away, and had been gone had I not fallen sick."

Lord Montrose for a little while "continued thus," making formal visits to Sir James and Lady Grahame and discussing the terms of the prospective marriage. Miss Helen's attitude in the matter can only be conjectured, but it is clearly evident from the subsequent transactions that Claverhouse was the one person to whom it ever occurred to consider her feelings.

Lady Grahame—"a very cunning woman" as Claverhouse said—was exceedingly desirous of securing Montrose; but Claverhouse, who had heard something of Montrose's fancy for another lady, was incredulous as to his real intention of marrying his Grahame kinswoman.

At this juncture King Charles II. (who was not lavish in giving or transferring titles, except to his own illegitimate offspring, and to such ladies as he was pleased to ennoble for what he ironically termed their "personal virtues") withheld his permission for the transfer of the Menteith title to Montrose; and Montrose, suspecting Claverhouse's influence in this, sent him word that if they discussed the matter verbally they might "come to understand one another." Claverhouse forthwith called upon him, and Montrose made the extraordinary offer that if Claverhouse would get him the King's consent to the immediate transfer of the title to himself, he would settle the succession on Claverhouse. Claverhouse however with characteristic independence declared that he had no ambition for the succession without the lady; whereupon Montrose said he could take the lady too.

Montrose's own statement of his case is not to be found, but his actions in this matter do not exhibit him as a worthy

¹ "To amuse, to stop or stay one with a trifling story, to feed with vain expectations, to hold in play. *Amusement*; a trifling business to pass away the time . . . the making of vain promises to gain time." (Kersey's English Dictionary, 2nd ed., 1715.)

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grandson of the "Great Marquess." Though privately making overtures to the Duchess of Rothes in regard to her extremely attractive daughter, Lady Christian Leslie, he was at the same time allowing the Grahames to entertain hopes of his alliance. With a view to finding some pretext for declining the honour of Miss Helen's hand, he went to see Sir James and Lady Grahame and insinuated that Claverhouse "had a design upon their daughter and was carrying it on under hand." "So soon as I heard this," says Claverhouse, "I went and told my Lady Grahame all." But Montrose followed next day and continued his misrepresentations.

On the King's subsequent consent to the transfer of Menteith's lands to Montrose, Sir James Grahame (as Claverhouse tells Menteith) "offered to perform all the conditions that my Lord Montrose required." Montrose, who had counted on a refusal, "knew not what to say, and so, being ashamed of his carriage, went away without taking leave of them; which was to finish his tricks with contempt. This is, my Lord, in as few words as I can, the most substantial part of that story."

Montrose endeavoured to blacken the young lady's reputation in order that he might seem to have some excuse for his own behaviour, and he and his friends brought in Claverhouse's name. "But," says Claverhouse indignantly, "I made them quickly quit these designs, for there was no shadow of ground for it. And, I must say she has suffered a great deal to comply with your Lordship's designs for her." If Menteith knew her, he adds, he would "think it strange my Lord Montrose should have neglected her."

Apparently Claverhouse even then had by no means given up hope, for he continues, "My Lord, I know you want not the best advice of the nation, yet I think it not amiss to tell you that it is the opinion of everybody . . . that you ought to come and make your case known to the King and the Duke. Your family is as considerable as Caithness or Maclean, in whose standing they concern themselves highly." He points out that if the title is allowed to "stand in the heirs male" the family must of necessity perish, and that therefore the

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wisest thing for Menteith to do would be to try and have the title transferred to his cousin Helen Grahame. "The Duke [of York] assures me that if my Lord Montrose would have married her, the title should have passed, as being in the blood, and that it may be done for anybody who shall marry her with your consent."

He concludes by touching on affairs in general: "Things fly very high here; the indictments appear frequently against the honest Duke [of York¹], and I am feared these things must break out. I am sorry for it; but I know you, impatient of the desire of doing great things, will rejoice at this. Assure yourself if ever there be barricades again in Glasgow you shall not want a call; and, my Lord, I bespeak an employment under you, which is to be your Lieutenant-General, and I will assure you we will make the world talk of us."

In the meantime he would not give way to despondency: "When my affairs go wrong I remember that saying of Lucan, *Tam mala Pompeii quam prospera mundus adoret.*" That he should be inspiriting himself by the thought of Pompeius, whom the world was compelled to respect in failure as well as in triumph, bears out Dalrymple's remarks about his classical reading²; Claverhouse's comment, too, is characteristic: one has occasion, he says, after a wrong step, to show one's vigour in making "a nimble recovery."³

"You have done nothing amiss [he adds to Menteith], but trusted too much to honour, and thought all the world held it as sacred as you do. . . . If there be nothing for your service here, I will be in Scotland immediately, for now I am pretty well recovered. I know my Lord Montrose will endeavour to misrepresent me to your Lordship, but I hope

¹ James II. in his "Memoirs," alluding to this period of Anti-Papal fervour and consequent efforts to exclude him from the succession on account of his Catholicism, says that the "factious party" "promised the Lady then in power £100,000" if she persuaded the King to consent to the Exclusion Bill; "and truly," adds James, "she did her weak endeavours, for (as she has since owned to me) she begged on her knees" that the King should give in. (Clarke, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 628.) The King, however, though usually ready to do anything for peace, resisted all pressure, and refused to exclude his brother.

² See *ante*, Chapter I., p. 11.

³ "Red Book of Menteith," vol. ii., p. 187.

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he has forfeited his credit with you . . . I have both at home and abroad sustained the character of an honest and frank man, and defy the world to reproach me of anything. . . . Excuse this scribbling, for I am in haste, going to Windsor, though I write two sheets.”¹

In another letter to Menteith, dated July the 8th, he says,

“I took occasion to tell the Duke that your Lordship’s case was very hard, and made him understand a little the business, as far as could be done without wronging my Lord Montrose’s reputation too much, which I should be unwilling to do, whatever he do by me. The Duke shook his head, and said it was not right. I said nothing, seeing I had no commission, and that it was only by way of discourse.”

Claverhouse adds that he is going “to Dunkirk with the envoys to see the Court of France”; and the correspondence ceases for some weeks.²

It would appear that Menteith, being exceedingly impecunious, did not feel that he could afford to break with Montrose, whom he still hoped would come to the rescue of his “poor though ancient family,” and help him towards the settlement of his most pressing debts. Accordingly—in spite of all that had happened—we find him writing in a friendly manner to Montrose as his “affectionate cousin,” asking him to try and get the loan of an earl’s robes for him before the next sitting of Parliament, as those belonging to his grandfather had been “destroyed in the English time,” and whenever he had required robes he had been in the habit of borrowing them from any other earl who did not want them at the moment.

On August the 24th, Claverhouse, still in London, writing to Menteith, who had told him that his interests “went ill in Scotland,” states emphatically that “one who has the direction” of all his affairs (very likely his brother David) had assured him that both his estate and his troop “were never

¹ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 187. This letter is dated July 3 (presumably 1680).

² *Ibid.* pp. 187-188.

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in better order.”¹ On the strength of this, he seems to have stayed in London until the following year, and if, as is not improbable, he accompanied the Duke of York to Edinburgh, with Churchill and others, in June 1681, he was soon afterwards back in London, not without hope of at last winning Helen Grahame, whose mother had written to Menteith (July the 15th, 1681) and declared that, as Claverhouse had pressed his suit so much, she was willing to consider it and “waive the propositions” of two highly eligible persons, until Menteith had told her more precisely what he would do in the way of settlements. Unless his conditions satisfied her, she said, she would on no account allow her daughter to marry in Scotland “where she would be a daily spectator of the ruins of that noble family she came from.”² Finally this indefatigable matchmaker demanded an immediate and definite answer.

Menteith wrote in reply to Lady Grahame, and enclosed a letter for his cousin Miss Helen, but sent both first to Claverhouse for inspection. Claverhouse protested that he “dared” not make use of the letters, because in the one to Lady Grahame, Menteith had wished the future bride and bridegroom “much joy” and had expressed his hope that they would live happily together; which was taking Lady Grahame’s consent for granted; and, says Claverhouse, astutely gauging the temper of his prospective mother-in-law, “I am sure my Lady, of the humour I know her to be, would have gone mad that you should think a business that concerned her so nearly” could be concluded before her consent had been obtained. Moreover Menteith in writing to Helen had referred to Claverhouse’s affection and what he had “suffered for her”; this, says Claverhouse, “is very gallant and obliging; but”—he adds, probably thinking of Montrose’s scandalous suggestion—“I am afeard they would have misconstrued it, and it might do me prejudice. And then in both, my Lord, you were pleased to take pains to show them almost clearly they had nothing to expect of you. . . . I declare I shall never press your Lordship in any thing but what you have a mind to, and I will assure you I need

¹ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 189.

² *Ibid.* p. 197.

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nothing to persuade me to take that young lady. I would take her in her smock.”¹

Though Claverhouse’s original motives for the match would appear to have been partly those of ambition, in the subsequent three years he had evidently grown to value the lady for her own sake. Begging Menteith to rewrite the letters on slightly different lines, and not to grudge the trouble of writing twice, he says he will be “in impatience” till he gets the amended versions. “I hope you shall not have occasion to regret anything you do for me, and in doing this you do me the greatest favour I can receive of any mortal. . . . Though you never do more for me I will be eternally yours, and by getting me that young lady you make me happy.”

Before he returned to Scotland in the autumn of 1681² Lady Grahame must have given him a misleading answer, for at the end of the year he apparently believed himself to be on the eve of betrothal, and he wrote pressing Menteith to make a final settlement. If Miss Helen and her mother have gone back to Ireland, he says, “I shall propose that they come to my house in Galloway,³ and there they shall need no protection, for I am in good hopes not only to command the forces there, but be Sheriff of Galloway.”⁴

His expectation of being Sheriff, and of commanding the forces was soon realised ; but Helen Grahame did not come to Scotland. The next news he received of her was that she had been affianced to Lord Conway’s nephew and heir, Arthur Rawdon, very possibly the same “Irish gentleman” whose rivalry had disturbed his peace of mind three years before.⁵

¹ London, October 1, 1681. “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 201.

² On October the 7th, 1681, Claverhouse (with his brother David Grahame and Sir Andrew Bruce of Earlsall) was given the freedom of Stirling. (Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling.)

³ “Galdinloch, now called Freugh,” in the parish of Stonykirk in Wigtownshire. It had belonged to Patrick Macdougall (or Macdowall), a Galloway laird, who took part in the rebellion of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, and was excepted from the Indemnity of July 1679. In February 1680 Macdougall was still at large, but his lands were declared forfeit to the crown, and conferred on Claverhouse in consideration of “his good affection to his Majesty’s interest, whereof his Majesty has more than ordinary experience.” (Acts Parl. Scot., vol. viii., pp. 315-318.)

⁴ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 205.

⁵ He was son and heir of Sir George Rawdon, first Baronet, and Dorothy, eldest

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From a worldly point of view, subsequent events justified the matchmaking parent's choice of a husband for her daughter ; for although Captain John Grahame of Claverhouse rose rapidly to be one of the most influential men north of the Tweed, within eight years he was to be an outlaw with a price on his head and ruin hanging over him—that ruin which sooner or later was the fate of nearly all who tried to serve the Stuarts. Whereas Sir Arthur Rawdon acquiesced in the Revolution, lived and died in peace and prosperity, was ancestor of the Marquess of Hastings of Anglo-Indian fame, and has descendants flourishing to this day.

Young Lord Montrose, whose ungallant treatment of his Grahame kinswoman brought down upon his head the anger and contempt of Claverhouse, married the other lady, Lady Christian Leslie, daughter and co-heiress of the notorious Duke of Rothes, but did not long survive his marriage. He died of fever in 1684, not three years after he had jilted Helen Grahame.

Menteith, divorcing his unsatisfactory wife, was not felicitous in his next venture. His second Countess, callous to the beauties of the “fair Isles” Claverhouse so much admired, and sadly bored with life at Talla Castle—where apparently there was no company available, beyond that of her lord, and of the frogs which croaked all night beneath her windows—wearying of domestic life in such conditions, threw patience to the winds and fled to Edinburgh.

After much argument and persuasion Menteith induced her to come back to him ; but the marriage would seem to have been made under an unlucky star. In 1692 she predeceased him ; and he, in spite of “frugal and virtuous living,” never won Fortune to befriend him. In 1694 he

daughter of Edward, Viscount and afterwards Earl of Conway. On the death in 1683 of the second and last Earl of Conway, the peerage became extinct, but the Conway property went to Arthur Rawdon, who succeeded his father as second Baronet, and was grandfather of the first Earl of Moira, who married Lady Elizabeth Hastings, Baroness Hastings in her own right. Sir Arthur Rawdon and Helen Grahame are now represented by Charles Edward Rawdon-Hastings-Campbell, eleventh Earl of Loudoun, who enjoys the double distinction of being descended not only from the lady whom Claverhouse aspired to marry, but from the Covenanting Lord Chancellor Loudoun who passed sentence of death upon Montrose.

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died childless, the last of his race, some five years after Claverhouse had fallen in the moment of victory at Killiecrankie. His lands had already been conveyed to the Montrose branch of the Grahames ; but his personal property¹ he bequeathed to Sir John Grahame of Gartmore, on condition that the said Sir John should erect a monument to him and his Countess in the Priory of Inchmahome.

No trace remains now of this monument, and only a skeleton survives of Talla Castle—so desolate a wreck that it seems relatively older and more ruinous than the old Priory of Inchmahome which was already ruinous and ancient in the days of Claverhouse. The Priory, with its stately Norman arches, is still beautiful ; the Spanish chestnuts planted, so says tradition, in the Middle Ages by the Augustinian monks, still live and stretch out sheltering arms. On the isle of Inchmahome the hand of Time has been laid reverently and gently ; but its sister isle, Inch Talla, breathes decay and desolation.

Whether in summer when the hills are purple and the skies are blue, and sunlight sparkles on the wide expanse of waters, or in autumn when the mountains shrouded in mist are barely visible beyond the borders of the lake, at sunset or in moonlight, storm or calm, there float around the dismal wreck of Talla Castle ghosts of futile hopes and of ambitions long-since dead and buried. Here Claverhouse would have come in 1679, lately returned from foreign service, newly started on a career in his own country, strong and ardent and aspiring ; eager to play his part in the great game of life, spurred on by those alluring hopes of happiness and success which often are so much more joyous than success itself. And so in thinking of his young ambitions, and of the tragic fate which was in ten short years to overwhelm him and to blight the fruit of all his labours, the lonely ruined Castle of Inch Talla seems a fitting place in which to muse upon the vanity of human wishes. *Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentum mortalia tangunt.*

¹ Mostly the furniture of the castle, and My Lord's wardrobe : coats of Spanish cloth, of velvet, and of scarlet cloth ; doublets, belts and bandoleers ; embroidered saddles, three pairs of pistols, and two Bibles. (Hutchinson's "Lake of Menteith," p. 214.)

The Dalrymples and the Cochranes

1682-1684

Grahame of Claverhouse, better known as Viscount of Dundee, was one of the most prominent characters of his age. He was brave, skilful, and indefatigable as a commander, cruel even to atrocity in military execution, and generous even to a foible upon every other occasion. He disgraced the virtues of a hero by the sanguinary persecution which he exercised against the miserable fanatics.—SIR WALTER SCOTT, *Note to Crichton's Memoirs.*

. . . If I be suffered to stay any time here, I do expect to see this the best settled part of the kingdom on this side the Tay. . . . But, in end, there will be need to make examples of the stubborn that will not comply. Nor will there be any danger in this after we have gained the great body of the people to whom I am become acceptable enough.
—CLAVERHOUSE to QUEENSBERRY
(April 1, 1682).

Chapter IV: The Dalrymples and the Cochranes, 1682-1684

EARLY in 1682, Claverhouse, with regard to his new duties as Sheriff, had written to Queensberry from Wigtown, "I find the lairds all following the example of a late great man and still a considerable heritor here amongst them, which is to live regularly themselves but have their houses constant haunts of rebels and intercommuned persons, and have their children baptised by the same, and then lay all the blame on their wives, condemning them and swearing they cannot help what is done in their absence."¹

Claverhouse was resolved that "this jest" should pass muster no longer, for, in addition to his objection to seeing the Government fooled, he declared it of more consequence to punish "one considerable laird" than a hundred insignificant people who were only led astray by the example of their superiors.

It was once remarked by Charles II. that if ever there was trouble in Scotland, there was always a Campbell or Dalrymple at the bottom of it. In this case it was a Dalrymple, and Claverhouse's "late great man" was Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, who on refusing to take the Test Oath had been deprived of his post as President of the Court of Session, and was now living in comparative retirement at Carscreoch, in the parish of Dunluce, "a stately house according to the

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 269.

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modern architecture," of which a contemporary remarked, alluding to its exposed position on the bleak and windswept moors, "it might have been more pleasant if it had been in a more pleasant place."¹

Dalrymple's wife (the prototype of Lady Ashton in "The Bride of Lammermoor") was a notorious patron of the field preachers,² and Claverhouse, when he first went to Galloway, had paid a visit to Sir James and intimated to him that he would be wise to "walk warily,"³ and see that his family did likewise. In July Dalrymple expressed himself as "much obliged to Claverhouse for his civility"; but early in August he was writing to Queensberry hinting that Claverhouse was less active than he should be in his duties as Sheriff.

Sir James had entirely failed to realise the character of the man with whom he had to deal. Claverhouse was only pausing until he had satisfied himself that he thoroughly understood the state of the county. He had no intention of exercising needless severity, much less of confounding the innocent with the guilty; neither was he inclined to exercise the type of ill-judged leniency which promotes law-breaking and encourages disorder. The Dalrymples had not the discrimination to profit by his warning, and instead of setting their affairs in order they took his politeness for a sign of weakness; but their error very soon became apparent.

In their regality of Glenluce there had been a person notoriously guilty of "constant harbouring of rebels," who had fled and was outlawed, and whose goods were therefore escheat to the crown; Claverhouse in virtue of his special commission promptly seized them, and this roused the ire of Dalrymple's son, Sir John, who, as hereditary Bailie of the Regality of Glenluce, had been claiming all fines and casualties of rebels

¹The Rev. Andrew Sympton, "Large Description of Galloway, 1684-1692," p. 78. See also MacGibbon and Ross, "Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland," vol. iv., pp. 77-80.

²It will be remembered how in 1667 General Dalzell had written to Lauderdale: "My own opinion is, this land will never be quiet till all the Nonconform[ist] Ministers be banished, and the Puritan ladies sent to bear them company." (See *ante*, p. 69.)

³Sir James Dalrymple of Stair to Lord Queensberry (London, November 21, 1684). "Queensberry Papers," Napier, vol. ii., p. 286.

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as part of his own revenue. Sir John was not disposed to be superseded by Claverhouse, to whom he wrote and "severely expostulated." The following Sunday the minister of the parish announced from the pulpit the holding of a Court by Captain Grahame of Claverhouse, the King's Sheriff, which Court the Sheriff ordered every one to attend. Sir John seized the opportunity to be avenged on Claverhouse by issuing counter orders in "a public proclamation at the Church doors" and consequently when the time came for the Court to meet, the King's Sheriff found no one there except the two Dalrymples.

Those territorial magnates, doubly entrenched behind their local prestige and their legal reputations, evidently thought a mere Captain of Horse no very serious opponent. But their arguments brought upon them the intimation from Claverhouse that if they offered further obstruction to the Council's orders as carried out by him, he would be obliged to invoke the assistance of his troops and enforce the law.

Such language used to an ex-President of the Court of Session must have been somewhat startling. It served to bring home to Sir James and Sir John that the young Captain of Horse was not a person to be flouted. They then played what presumably they thought would be a trump card; they offered Claverhouse £150 sterling in exchange for his silence concerning the various political irregularities of their illustrious family.¹ Had they not—with all their abilities—been singularly lacking in judgment of character, they could never have made so egregious a blunder. On discovering their mistake, and fearing lest Claverhouse should inform the Government, Sir John went up post-haste to Edinburgh so that he should be the first to lodge an accusation. Claver-

¹This came out at the time of Dalrymple's trial before the Privy Council and was not denied either by him or his advocates. (See Fountainhall, "Hist. Notices," December 14, 1682.) Professor Terry (p. 116) somewhat unaccountably thinks the bribe an invention on Claverhouse's part; but surely it would have been singular folly for Claverhouse to make such an assertion in court unless it had been true. If he had indulged in any mendacious charges it would have been he and not Dalrymple who would have incurred the Chancellor's censure for circulating slanderous misstatements.

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house, however, was in the habit of keeping Queensberry so well informed that Sir John's grievances made little impression.

Having failed in the first place to intimidate Claverhouse, and then having been unsuccessful in efforts either to bribe him into submission or to secure his removal, Dalrymple returned to Glenluce, and (on August the 5th) held a Regality Court of his own, at which he affected to try the cases of several people whom Claverhouse had previously "found guilty of all fanatical disorders."¹ These people had refused a proffered indemnity, and Claverhouse had written to Queensberry that it would be necessary to make a few examples of the most stubborn members of the community. Therefore when Sir John "imposed mock fines upon them," not amounting to "the fiftieth, sixtieth, or a hundredth part"² of what was legally due, Claverhouse protested; and he had still further cause for objection when Sir John took upon himself to step in "in criminal cases no ways competent to him," and prevent people being brought to justice.³ Claverhouse however had no intention of submitting to this process of "fooling the Government," and he promptly imposed heavy fines on nearly everyone who had attended Sir John's Regality Court. Before the end of the month he had demanded from Sir James Dalrymple's factor, and some of his chief tenants, fines to the amount of £1000 sterling, which they could not or would not pay, so were obliged to suffer imprisonment.

The ladies, behind whom it had so long been the fashion for the disaffected husbands to take shelter, saw that the time had now come to efface themselves, and Lady Dalrymple set the example of flying from the kingdom. Her husband soon followed, after arranging that his son Sir John must try to right himself and be avenged on Claverhouse by presenting a Bill of Suspension to the Privy Council.

We learn from Fountainhall—whose sympathies were entirely with the Dalrymples—that the Council, though ordering the tenants to be set at liberty, and though deferring

¹ Claverhouse's Statement to the Privy Council. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 291.)

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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until November the settlement of the fines, administered a reproof and a warning to Sir John by stating very clearly that "hereditary Bailies and Sheriffs, who are negligent themselves in putting the laws in execution, should not offer to compete with the Sheriffs commissioned and put in by the Council."¹

Claverhouse was thanked for his services, assured of the support of the Government, and bidden to "put the laws vigorously in execution" against delinquents, though at the same time he was instructed to make sure that his men paid for everything they might have taken in the way of food or quarters.² Accordingly he ordered an announcement to be made at all the parish churches in Galloway that those who had any complaints to make against his soldiers should go to Strathaven "where they would find persons ready to give them immediate satisfaction."³

But Sir John, determined "to stir up the people since he could not move the government,"⁴ was untiring in his efforts to persuade the gentry of Galloway to follow his example. Although they declined to trouble themselves in the matter, he would not own himself beaten, but drew up in their names "a most seditious, false, and malicious representation against the forces, both officers and soldiers"⁵ in which he dealt entirely in generalities, as he was unable to specify "any particular person who had made complaints." This denunciatory paper he caused to be publicly presented to the Sheriff-Depute, David Grahame, at Strathaven, in the hopes that the people, heated by the charges it contained, might be roused once more into rebellion. The position was extremely serious for Claverhouse⁶; another of the King's officers, Sir James Turner, some seventeen years previously, had been dis-

¹ Fountainhall, "Historical Notices."

² Letter from the Privy Council to Claverhouse, signed by the Duke of Hamilton. (Napier, vol. ii., 294.)

³ Probably Claverhouse's brother David Grahame, Sheriff-Depute.

⁴ Claverhouse's statements to the Privy Council. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 297.)

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ If Dalrymple had proved his case, Claverhouse would have been liable to be degraded from his Sherifdom, and imprisoned "at His Majesty's pleasure." See Mackenzie on "The Jurisdiction of Sheriffs" (in "The Laws and Customs of

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graced by a process not unlike this, and his trial, one of the great law cases of Charles II.'s reign, may well have stood for a warning to those who came after him. Turner, an honest and courageous though somewhat casual and easy-going soldier of fortune, had not proved equal to his task, and had been ignominiously carried off in his nightgown by the very insurgents whom he was sent to control. This precedent may have encouraged Sir John Dalrymple, who, as events proved, had a very different man to deal with.

As Claverhouse had "reclaimed the body of the people," and was well able to keep the rest of them "in obedience and awe by the assistance of his forces,"¹ it was no easy matter to get the better of him.

Hearing that he had called a second Head Court, Sir John, "resolving to lose no time or occasion to disturb the country," attended the Court in question, and took a seat "at the head of the board," though neither he nor his predecessors had ever sat there before.² From this newly usurped eminence he made a violent attack on Claverhouse.

Claverhouse's reply was to order Sir John's seditious manifesto of complaint against the soldiers to be read aloud. Thereupon it was promptly disowned by all the other heritors.

Sir John—evidently exasperated at this defeat in his own shire where he had counted on carrying all before him—lost his temper completely, and "fell into that height of passion and folly"³ that he not only denounced Claverhouse still more malevolently, but maintained that his behaviour was contrary to the orders of the Government.

For a while Claverhouse appears to have allowed Sir John to orate uninterrupted, but at last in virtue of his position as Sheriff he "commanded him to silence"; and when Sir John refused obedience, Claverhouse threatened him with imprisonment. Even then—as we gather from Sir John's piteous complaints made afterwards to the Privy Council—something Scotland"): if a sheriff gave "partial counsel," or in any way abused the trust reposed in him, he was to forfeit "fame, honour, and dignity," and to be punishable "in his person and goods."

¹ Claverhouse's statements to the Privy Council. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 298.)

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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more than moral force was required to subdue the future organiser of the massacre of Glencoe. Claverhouse had him taken by the shoulders and removed from the table, "which," says the aggrieved Sir John, "was an indignity that His Majesty's justice and princely generosity does not allow to be offered to a gentleman."

There were about a hundred people present, in addition to the members of the Court, to witness this ridiculous scene.¹

On October the 10th, Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat writes to the Chancellor that "the business betwixt Claverhouse and Sir John Dalrymple seems to grow"²; and Sir John continued to write long letters to Queensberry, striving to persuade him that the King's Sheriff had exceeded the bounds of his commission. Claverhouse however did not stand still and await Sir John's Bill of Suspension, but came forward immediately and presented a Bill of Complaint against Sir John. This Bill was read before the Privy Council on December the 16th, but a final judgment was not given until February the 12th in the following year (1683). Dalrymple was supported by Sir George Lockhart, reputed then the ablest pleader at the Scottish bar, with Lauder of Fountainhall as junior. "There was much transport, flame, and humour" in the case, says Fountainhall, and we may well believe him.

¹ Amongst Sir John's indictments presented for consideration to the Privy Council was also "the offering of a box in the ear to a gentleman in presence of the Committee of Council . . . an intolerable affront to His Majesty's Government, and indignity to the liege so injured." Fountainhall says nothing about this, and "His Majesty's Government" also ignores the "intolerable affront," so presumably Claverhouse only offered and did not administer the chastisement in question; for if he had struck Sir John (otherwise than in self-defence), Sir John by the law of Scotland would have been entitled to claim damages for assault. No such claim was made by his counsel; so we can only assume that this indictment was among the "false statements" for which the Chancellor subsequently rebuked Dalrymple while congratulating Claverhouse that he although not a lawyer had "walked so warily" throughout the business. He could hardly be said to have walked warily if he had boxed Sir John Dalrymple's ears in the presence of numerous witnesses, so we may take his winning the case as sufficient refutation of Sir John's complaint.

² "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," p. 89. He spells Claverhouse "Clevres." ("Clavross," "Clevres," and "Clevrus" are the forms of spelling oftenest used by his contemporaries, from which the pronunciation of his name is clearly indicated. It obviously was not "Claivers" as sometimes pronounced now.)

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Dalrymple persisting in his statement that the people in Galloway were "orderly and regular," Claverhouse retorted that there were as many elephants and crocodiles in Galloway as loyal and regular persons—"meaning" (explains Fountain-hall laboriously) "that there were none of either; which was a bold accusation and reflection on a whole shire."¹

Bold as were Claverhouse's accusations, he succeeded in proving all of them; and though Wodrow, writing in the next century, assured his readers he had "many particular accounts" of that distinguished "Persecutor's" appalling outrages, Sir John Dalrymple, who was living in the shire at the time and who had left no stone unturned in his efforts to ruin Claverhouse, did not succeed in bringing against him a single charge which could be substantiated. It is moreover worthy of mention that when Wodrow tells us "we shall find Claverhouse raging in the West and South," and "committing many grievous oppressions," Sir John Dalrymple was accusing him of having deviated into unjustifiable leniency: "When parties are willing to give bond, or make payment of their fines, he gives them a general discharge of all bygone irregularities; and, which is more gross, he does gratify persons obstinate, and who have not returned to order, with such general indemnities."² There is no suggestion of cruelty in the entire libel, and the worst accusation of oppression it contains is that of having exacted free quarters for his soldiers contrary to the orders of the Council.

Sir John's indictments, when sifted and examined by the Council, recoiled upon his own head. He was found guilty:—(1st) of employing as his clerk and Bailie men who had already been denounced by Claverhouse, (2nd) of imposing inadequate fines and evading the law, (3rd) of prohibiting people in his regality from attending Claverhouse's Court, though Claverhouse had "the Council's extraordinary Commission for calling and punishing delinquents within the

¹ In Law's "Memorialls" (pp. 176-177) there is an amusing minute description of a then recently imported elephant, the first that had ever been seen in Scotland; some English merchants paid £2000 sterling for "this great creature," taught it to wave a flag and fire a gun, and then made much money by exhibiting it.

² Dalrymple's libel against Claverhouse. (Napier, vol. ii., 306.)

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shire," (4th) of drawing up a manifesto against Claverhouse "for alleged exaction and oppression, without any previous complaint to Claverhouse or his officers, of purpose to breed dislike and animosity between the country people and the King's soldiers," and (5th) of misrepresenting Claverhouse to the Privy Council, and making false statements about him as Sheriff and Judge, for which calumnies the Chancellor added an emphatic reproof. The outcome of it was that the Lords of the Privy Council deprived "the said Sir John Dalrymple of his jurisdiction and office as Bailie of the regality of Glenluce," fined him £500 and costs, and ordered him to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle.¹

The dignitaries of state responsible for this decision were the Chancellor, the Primate, the Treasurer, the Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Advocate, the Justice General, the President of the Court of Session, the Bishop of Edinburgh, the Commander-in-Chief and the Master General of the Ordnance; the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquesses of Montrose and of Douglas; the Earls of Errol, Glencairn, Linlithgow, Perth, Dumfries, Southesk and Balcarres; Lords Elphinston and Kinnaird; the Law Lords Collinton, Abbotshall and Castlehill; and Sir George Munro, formerly Commander-in-Chief.²

Claverhouse was not only acquitted of all blame, but thanked for his services, and complimented by the Lord Chancellor "that he not being a lawyer had walked so warily in so irregular a country."³

At the time immediately following this contest, when in Wodrow's "History" the Persecutor appears "exerting his powers to the utmost" in the South and West of Scotland, creating "an inexpressible terror and confusion"—he was in reality in England on a diplomatic mission; and was cock-fighting and coursing at Newmarket with Charles II.⁴ who, though energetic in his amusements, possessed the

¹ He paid his fine promptly and was released.

² Sederunt of the Privy Council. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 303.)

³ Fountainhall's "Historical Notices," and "Decisions," February 12, 1683.

⁴ Claverhouse to Queensberry, March 9, 1683. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 275.

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instincts of leisure in far too marked a degree to suffer business to interfere with inclination.

"It is very hard to do anything here either with the King or Duke," wrote Claverhouse to Queensberry (March the 13th), "for the Duke hunts, besides going wherever the King goes."¹ In spite of this, Claverhouse managed to talk matters over with the Duke, who was very well pleased with the improved state of Scotland, for which he took the credit to himself in so far as he had been responsible for sending Claverhouse to Galloway.

In the series of letters written from London, Claverhouse several times alludes to an affair of his own—namely, the acquirement of the castle and lands of Dudhope and the Constabulary of Dundee, which in 1298 had been granted to his ancestor Alexander Scrymgeour, hereditary Standard-Bearer of Scotland.² On the death without heirs in 1668 of John Scrymgeour, first Earl of Dundee and third Viscount Dudhope, the estates reverted to the crown and the titles became extinct.

Subsequently Charles II. granted the property to the Duke of Lauderdale, whose brother Charles Maitland of Hatton had for some time lived at Dudhope. However, at the fall of Lauderdale, and consequent financial difficulties of the Maitland family, there was every prospect of the castle and Constabulary being once more at his Majesty's disposal, and thus came Claverhouse's opportunity.

Dudhope, for its position, its intrinsic value, and its historic connections, was a most desirable acquisition. Though the castle was not the original stronghold of the days of Bruce and Wallace, it was of sufficient age for dignity, and it had given shelter to King Charles in the unhappy year 1650. The fact that Montrose used frequently to go there from St Andrews in his boyhood would no doubt in Claverhouse's eyes have constituted an additional attraction.

A large and stately building,³ it was excellently suited to

¹ Claverhouse to Queensberry, March 9, 1683. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 277.

² See Pedigree.

³ "It is to be hoped that steps will be taken to rescue this fine example of Scottish

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the requirements of Claverhouse, whose home—Glenogilvy near Glamis—was too far from Dundee to be convenient.

Writing to Queensberry from London he says, "I have written to my Lord Ch[ancellor] about a business that concerns myself, of which he and I talked before I parted, as my Lady Erroll will tell you." (The Countess of Erroll, sister of the Earl of Perth, dabbled considerably in politics, and seems to have been on friendly terms with most of the leading men in Scotland; Claverhouse several times mentions her in his letters.)

"I must beg your Lordship's assistance in that business of the lands of Dudhope. My Lord Ch[ancellor] designs nothing but to sell it, and buy land in the north, seeing he is to get Stirling Castle to dwell in. Wherefore I desire leave to ask the house of Dudhope, and the Constabulary, and other jurisdictions of Dundee belonging to my Lord Lauderdale; and I offer to buy forty chalders of victual,¹ from my Lord Ch[ancellor], lying about it, though I should have to sell other lands to do it. I have no house,² and it lies within half-a-mile of my land; and all that business would be extremely convenient for me, and signify not much to my Lord Chancellor, especially since I am willing to buy the land. I would take this for the greatest favour in the world, for I cannot have the patience to build and plant."³

architecture from the state of neglect and dilapidation which has overtaken so many of our ancient buildings, and which seems even now to threaten this one. Its walls are strong and well-built; its situation is fine . . . and the history of centuries is connected with its name. Its preservation for some worthy purpose would reflect credit on the city which has grown up about it." (MacGibbon and Ross, "Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland," vol. iv., p. 271.)

¹*i.e.* land producing that quantity of corn; Fynes Moryson says, "The Gentlemen [of Scotland] reckon their revenues not by rents of money but by chauldrons of victuals." (Itinerary, Part I., Book III., chap. 5.)

²That is, no habitable house upon his lands near Dundee; for Claypots Castle, Broughty Ferry, even if habitable at this date, was so small as to be most inconvenient for a dwelling-place except for someone with a very limited establishment. It had been acquired by the Grahames, of Claverhouse in 1619 but it seems doubtful if they ever lived there. In 1640 they became possessed of the manor of Glenogilvy near Glamis, but this (as already shown) was too far from the town of Dundee to be suitable headquarters for Claverhouse.

³Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 276.

This letter has been the cause of warm protests from various persons who argue that

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It will be seen that he eventually obtained his wish, after much tedious delay.¹ In the same letter to Queensberry (March the 20th, 1683), Claverhouse alludes casually to a "little service" he hoped to do him; which little service was to speak to the King and the Duke of York about creating a Queensberry dukedom to balance the Whig influence of Queensberry's brother-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton. This was no slight undertaking, for the King had been (as the Duke of York told Claverhouse) "so vexed with the nobilitating people" in England—where, as his Majesty complained, "when the door was once opened" everybody wanted to come in—that the moment was not a favourable one to ask him to listen to anything more upon the subject of peerages.² After some persuasion, the royal objections were overcome and Claverhouse had occasion to remark in confidence to Queensberry, "I know how much one's presence prevails with the good nature of the King and the Duke."³

the foundation of a building on the Claverhouse estate being unearthed in 1793 proves that a habitable castle was standing in 1682-1688. No such building is mentioned in Claverhouse's marriage contract, which contains a detailed account of his possessions and specifies "the tower, fortalice and Manor place" of Glenogilvy, the " fortalice and Manor place" of Claypots, and "the house of Dudhope . . . lands of Ballargus and Claverhouse with the corne milne of the same." Mr A. H. Millar, in a correspondence with Professor Terry (*Dundee Advertiser*, July 7, 9 and 14, 1904), refers to Claverhouse's statement in the above-quoted letter, and says that "evidently John Graham wished to appeal as a poor man to Queensberry; hence his prevarications."

With all due respect to Mr Millar—and leaving out of the question the Duke of York's testimony that "Claverhouse is not the man to say things that are not"—it is scarcely conceivable that he would have been so foolish as to misrepresent his case to Queensberry, who knew him exceedingly well and is likely to have known the exact extent of his income and possessions. It may be a matter of opinion whether honesty is the best policy, but we are all agreed as to the stupidity of lying when the lie is bound to be detected. Although the less some authors have studied Claverhouse's character the more ready they have been to pass judgment on him, even the most ignorant and abusive have stopped short of accusing him of stupidity; and it is allowable to suggest that Claverhouse himself is the most reliable authority as to his own possessions.

¹ On April 23, 1684, he received a Crown charter of Dudhope Castle, the lands of Castlehill, the Office of Constable of Dundee, and the right to be first magistrate and officer under the King in the town of Dundee and all its territories in all time coming. £6000 Scots was fixed as the value of the estate; for financial details of the transaction see Fountainhall, "Historical Notices," vol. ii., p. 490, and pp. 503 and 523; "Chronol. Notes," p. 73. See also Napier, vol. ii., pp. 407-409.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 279.

³ *Ibid.* p. 274. The elaborate correspondence on this theme (showing how the creations, not only of the dukedom of Queensberry, but of the Gordon dukedom and

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Claverhouse's star was in the ascendant; on Christmas Day, 1682, he had been made Colonel of a new Regiment of Horse, composed of his own troop (of which he remained Captain with a Captain-Lieutenant under him), the two other independent troops which had been formed in 1678, and a newly raised troop¹; and now on May the 11th a royal letter announced to the Scottish Privy Councillors that Colonel Grahame of Claverhouse was to be added to their number.²

On May the 13th the Duke of York was writing to Queensberry from Windsor, "This goes to you by Claverhouse, to whom I must refer for several things I have to say to you, and to inform you how things go here."³

On the 22nd of the same month Claverhouse was sworn in as a Privy Councillor,⁴ and was required to resume his former work of keeping the country in order, a task which had been interrupted by his sojourn in London.

The King had ordered a circuit Court of Justiciary to open at Stirling on June the 5th (1683), and proceed to Glasgow, Ayr, Dumfries, Jedburgh and Edinburgh. Claverhouse was bidden to attend the Justices and command the forces in each place they visited, except Glasgow and Stirling where Dalzell was to be present.⁵

The proceedings of the circuit are detailed in Claverhouse's letters to Queensberry⁶ and to the Chancellor, Lord Aberdeen,⁷ to both of whom he wrote from Stirling on June the 9th reporting progress: "The judges go on very unanimously,"

the Tarbat viscountcy were to a great extent due to Claverhouse's influence) can be studied in Appendix VIII. of the 15th Report of Hist. MSS. Commission. The patent of Queensberry's dukedom is dated November 3, 1684, and the Gordon dukedom dates from November 1 in the same year, but the creation of Tarbat's viscountcy was postponed till April 13, 1685.

¹ Warrant Book, Scotland, vol. vii., fol. 481. The regiment was subsequently augmented to six troops. See Chap. V. *supra*.

² *Ibid.* vol. viii., fol. 59.

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 189.

⁴ Fountainhall, "Historical Notices," vol. i., p. 441.

⁵ Order of Council, May 31, 1683. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 343.)

⁶ "Buccleuch and Queensberry Papers," Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., pp. 281-286.

⁷ "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen" (Spalding Club), pp. 121-123.

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he tells Queensberry, "and my Lord Advocate does wonders.¹ This murder they have committed gives us all new vigour." He is referring to the affray near Inchbelly Bridge on the previous day (June the 8th), when five of the Horse Guards escorting one Smith, a prisoner, to Glasgow, were fired on by seven men who had hidden themselves "in a house on a strait pass on the high way."² The five troopers marched unsuspectingly into ambush, and the volley of shot with which they were greeted killed one and wounded another.³ They were so taken by surprise that they let the prisoner escape. Five out of the seven aggressors got away before they could be apprehended, but two were seized by the country people and brought before the Duke of Hamilton who describes them as "the insolentest rogues that ever I spoke to."⁴

These two men and one other were afterwards executed, and it is to the case of the other, a certain William Bogue (Boak, Bogge or Boigg), that Claverhouse's long letter to the Lord Chancellor chiefly relates. Bogue had been "actually in the rebellion" and had, as Claverhouse phrases it, "continued in that state four years." He then came in, with a sham certificate

"to fool the Judges: for being desired to give his oath that he had taken the bond, he positively refused; being asked if Bothwell Bridge was a rebellion, refused to declare it so, or the Bishop's murder a murder; and positively refused, in face of the Court, the benefit of the King's Indemnity by taking the Test. Upon which the Judges, moved by the outcry of all the bystanders as by their conviction of the wickedness of the man, referred the matter to the knowledge

¹ Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, writes to Lord Aberdeen, saying that Claverhouse will give him particulars as to the Justiciary affairs; but he adds on his own account, "I take also all the pains I can to secure honest men, and terrify rascals of what quality soever." ("Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," p. 120.)

² The Duke of Hamilton to the Marquis of Queensberry. Hamilton, June 9. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 252.)

³ The "private gentleman" of his Majesty's Horse who was killed on this occasion was David Murray, brother of Murray of Romanno. ("Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock," p. 4, note.)

⁴ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 252.

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of an inquest, who brought him in guilty ; after which he begged to acknowledge his folly, and offered to take the Test, with the old gloss,¹ *as far as it consisted with the Protestant religion and the glory of God*²; and after that was refused him, offered in end to take it anyway. By all of which it clearly appears that he would do anything to save his life, but nothing to be reconciled to the Government."

It gives no security to the Government, continues Claverhouse, when a man who has refused the Test suddenly after condemnation promises to take it ; in such cases men promise "only because they think themselves not bound to keep it." "Great clemency has and ought to be shown to people that are sincerely resolved to be reclaimed, but the King's Indemnity should not be forced on villains."

This man's condemnation had not deterred others from surrendering ; on the contrary, "above twenty have taken the Test since he was condemned" ; and the example that had been made of him was expected to alarm the remainder of the fugitive rebels and make them see the wisdom of surrendering.³ "I am as sorry to see a man die, even a Whig, as any of themselves," comments Claverhouse, "but when one dies justly for his own faults, and may save a hundred to fall in the like, I have no scruple."⁴

Lord Maitland (the Lord Justice Clerk) wrote to Lord Aberdeen concerning the same man, and he adds a post-script, "This fellow William Bogue, that was condemned, fell on his knees a second time, and acknowledged he was justly condemned and found guilty, and that his blood was on his own head."⁵ Bogue was executed at Glasgow (June the 13th, 1683) and has been enrolled among the Covenanting

¹ Gloss—*i.e.* comment. (Kersey's Dictionary, 1702.)

² This sounds harmless to people not sufficiently versed in Covenanting phraseology and declarations to know that "the glory of God" covered such actions as the murder of Archbishop Sharpe, and resulted in anarchy.

³ Claverhouse afterwards tells Queensberry that "many gentlemen of good quality" and "about a hundred and fifty rebel commoners have here taken the Test, and I believe almost all will." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 282.)

⁴ "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," pp. 121, 122.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 119, 120.

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martyrs. It is interesting to observe that this man, who was a Bothwell Bridge rebel, and two of the Covenanters who, hidden in ambush, had shot at and killed the King's soldiers in the Inchbelly affair, were apparently the only people who suffered capital punishment during this circuit in which "Bluidy Claver'se" and "Bluidy Mackenzie" played so prominent a part.

"From Glasgow your Lordship will hear from me, for there will be the scene of considerable things," wrote Claverhouse to Queensberry, but his Glasgow letter is missing, and we only catch a glimpse of him through the medium of the Duke of Hamilton, who disliked him exceedingly: "Claverhouse and the Clerk are the chief directors," writes his Grace on June the 14th.¹

On the 19th of the same month the Report of the Lords of Justiciary announced that the Provost of Stranraer, "indicted for actual rebellion," having come in and confessed, had been "delivered over to Colonel Grahame, who according to his instructions is to give him a safe-conduct."²

At Dumfries, where the Court sat from June the 26th to July the 2nd, there is no record of Claverhouse except that his presence cost the town one pound ten shillings Scots "for a pound of candle ilk night" supplied to his troopers while they were on guard.³

While the judges were still on circuit, news arrived in Scotland of the Rye House Plot to kill the King on his way to Newmarket; and the Earl of Moray wrote to the Chancellor that as some of the conspirators might probably seek shelter over the Border, it would be well to be prepared for emergencies.⁴ Accordingly Claverhouse on the 5th of July⁵ writes to Lord Aberdeen from Jedburgh describing the manner in which he has disposed his troops to guard the Borderland

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., pp. 253, 254. "The Clerk" is the Lord Justice Clerk.

² "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," pp. 128, 129.

³ Town Records of Dumfries. Napier, vol. ii., p. 362.

⁴ "Letters to George, Earl of Aberdeen," p. 133.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 138. The letter is printed "June the 5," but this by the context is a clerical error for July.

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and intercept possible fugitive plotters if any such should attempt to enter Scotland. His next letters to Queensberry show some of the many difficulties with which he had to contend. Expressing his strong disapproval of the government project to bring down a Highland contingent to terrorise the Covenanters, he had suggested how to dispose the regular troops so that Highland assistance would be needless¹; but neither the Chancellor nor General Dalzell were easy to work with.² The Duke of Hamilton, moreover, had so plied Queensberry with insinuations against Claverhouse that Queensberry began to doubt the firmness of Claverhouse's friendship.³

The settlement of the Dudhope business dragged on after the usual fashion of litigation; and Claverhouse does not appear to have been in favour at the moment:

"I see not that the Court grows much here [he wrote to Queensberry]. I find myself worse there every day, but I take no notice of it. I go thither as I used to do, but only when I have business of public concern; and however things go I am resolved to do as a good subject ought and a man of honour. I will by no means prejudge the King's service

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 282.

² Claverhouse subsequently writes to Queensberry (Edinburgh, September 13, 1683), "I thought I had prepared that affair of the garrisons so well that there could not have been the least difficulty with it; for my Lord Chancellor seemed satisfied and made me write about it to the General, but when it came in Council the Chancellor referred all to the General," who apparently was unfriendly. "The thing being so reasonable, and a proposal of your Lordship's, and sustained by me who they had reason to believe understood that country [of Galloway], your Lordship may easily guess I was not well satisfied; and I took the liberty to tell my Lord Ch[ancellor] that if the Duke [of York] had been at that Board, as he was when I was first sent to Galloway, I would have been believed in matters of that country, especially when I was but seconding my Lord Treasurer. The Ch[ancellor] then desired the Gen[eral], my Lord Linlithgow and Livingstone and I to confer about it next morning, which would have turned to nothing, had not your Lordship's letter come to my Lord Ch[ancellor], which pleased him so well that there was not the least difficulty thereafter." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 283.)

³ "Whoever suspects me," wrote Claverhouse to Queensberry, "of having given advice to the Duke [of York] to let things be governed by the chief minister alone, wrong me mightily. I can appeal to the Duke and my Lord Middleton if I did not always say that things by cause of secrecy ought to be managed by you two; and if you could not agree, by a Juncto." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 282.)

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for my interest, nor will I do mean things to insinuate myself.”¹

During the autumn and winter of 1683-1684 Claverhouse does not play a prominent part in politics; but in the following spring he was back at his former work, and suffering afresh from the effects of General Dalzell’s uncertain temper.²

“Though I got all the assurances imaginable from the General [writes Claverhouse to Queensberry] that day I parted with you, that his orders for me should be as soon at Glasgow as I,—yet I waited at the Hawkhead and thereabouts for five or six days, and heard nothing from him. So I was forced to write to him, as I did to the Lieutenant-General Drummond and the President of the Session, that if the King’s service was retarded, the blame should not lay on me; upon which he sent me orders, but he is in a terrible huff.”³

Claverhouse, after relating his doings in Dumfries and Clydesdale, says that he will “answer for the peace and good order of that part of the country; and in reference to his approaching marriage he adds that the “new allies” he is about to make are not altogether “unuseful” to him in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew.”

This alliance with his natural enemies was creating a decided sensation among his friends and acquaintances. The fair lady in question was the daughter of that Presbyterian Lord Cochrane who, dying in 1679, had been attended on his death-bed by a minister praying for the success of the insurgents fighting against Claverhouse in the West; her uncle, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, was suspected of implication not only in the treasonable affair of Baillie

¹ Edinburgh, September 13, 1683. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 284.

² An undated letter from Claverhouse to Queensberry (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 286), evidently written in April 1684, describes his difficulty in wringing orders out of the General. To act without orders was to risk censure, and to wait for orders from Dalzell, who would not give them, was to neglect the King’s service, so Claverhouse’s position was not enviable.

³ Letter dated Edinburgh, May 19, 1684.

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of Jerviswood, but also in the Rye House Plot ; her grandfather, the first Earl of Dundonald, was threatened with prosecution for harbouring fugitive rebels ; and her maternal grandfather, the sixth Earl of Cassillis, had been a violent Covenanter.

For so ardent a Royalist and Episcopalian as Claverhouse to choose a bride from such surroundings and antecedents was so surprising and incongruous as to give ample opportunity for malicious comment.

It happened just at this time that a marriage was being arranged between Lady Susanna Hamilton, the Duke of Hamilton's second daughter, and young Lord Cochrane, Claverhouse's prospective brother-in-law, and that the Duke, "a rank Presbyterian"¹ whose own fidelity to the crown was open to suspicion, had taken care to let it be understood that he was strongly averse to his daughter marrying into such a rebellious family until he secured the express consent of the King and the Duke of York.

Claverhouse, believing his choice of a wife to be his private affair, had "judged it presumption" to trouble the King or the Duke of York with his "little concerns,"² and he was scornful and indignant at Hamilton's parade of loyalty, which he heard was designed to bring him into disfavour by drawing attention to the fact that he had been less "circumspect." He wrote to the Duke of York to vindicate himself, and said, as he tells Queensberry, that he looked upon himself "as a cleanser."

"I may cure people guilty of that plague of Presbytery, but cannot be infected. . . . As for the young lady herself, I shall answer for her. Had she been right-principled she would never in despite of her mother and relations [have] made choice of a persecutor, as they call me."³

Well-meaning commentators have on several occasions

¹ Lord Ailesbury's "Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 17.

² Claverhouse to Queensberry, May 19, 1684. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 288.

³ Claverhouse to Queensberry. *Ibid.* p. 287.

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been at some pains to explain away these ironical utterances ; Napier suggested that in the haste of writing Claverhouse no doubt omitted an essential word, and that what he meant was "had she *not* been right-principled." This is to overlook the fact that Claverhouse when irritated was apt to grow scornful, and that such terms as "godly" and "right-principled" were oftener than not derisively employed by him.¹

Claverhouse, though usually polite, was often caustic in his expressions ; his likes and dislikes are expressed in his letters with sufficient vigour ; and his dispatches to people whom he distrusted or despised are marked with a sarcastic courtesy, the satire of which was probably wasted on the individuals to whom it was addressed, and even now is not always perceived by the casual reader. Whether the vein of irony which runs through his correspondence be apparent or not to "the generality," it is obvious from his two letters to Queensberry, "anent that match" with Lord Dundonald's granddaughter, that he was exceedingly angry at the way in which his choice had been criticised :

"Whoever thinks to misrepresent me on that head will find themselves mistaken ; for both in the King and the Church's interest, drive as fast as they think fit, they will never see me behind. However, my Lord, malice sometimes carries things far ; so I must beg your Lordship will defend me if you find anything of this nature stirring." ²

On the same day, May the 19th, he wrote a second letter to Queensberry, alluding again to having written to the Duke of York to assure him that he could not be "infected by any

¹ For instance, referring to a fanatical agitator whom he had orders to apprehend, Claverhouse says that his soldiers could not find the man but had brought his brother instead : "Though he maybe cannot preach as his brother, I doubt not but he is as well-principled, wherefore I thought it would be no great fault to give him the trouble to go with the rest." (Letter to Lord Linlithgow, February 7, 1679. "Letters," Bann. Club, p. 10.) And writing to Lord Menteith from London he says, "I rejoice to hear . . . you have now taken my trade off my hand (and) that you are become the terror of the godly. ("Red Book of Menteith," vol. ii., p. 200.)

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 287.



Lady Jean Grahame of Claverhouse
from the Painting at Dundee

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plague of Presbytery." He combats the charge against Dundonald of harbouring fugitive insurgents :

"I saw nothing singular in my Lord Dundonald's case, save that he has but one rebel on his land for ten that the rest of the lords and lairds of the South and West have on theirs ; and he is willing to depone that he knew not of their being such. The Duke is juster than to charge my Lord Dundonald with Sir John's crimes."

For Sir John Cochrane—who had been implicated in the plot to assassinate the King, and whose principles comprised everything most abhorrent to the Cavalier mind—no excuse was possible from Claverhouse, who had been officially examining the charges against him : "he is a madman, and let him perish. They deserve to be damned that own him." The charges against Dundonald were, however, frivolous, and Claverhouse, who had "taken pains to know the state of the country's guilt" as to harbouring rebels, declares emphatically,

"If I make it not appear that my Lord Dundonald is one of the clearest in that country and can hardly be reached in law, I am content to pay his fine. I never pleaded for any, nor shall I hereafter. . . . Nobody offered to meddle with him till they heard I was like to be concerned in him. And, since favour might have been shown him without prejudging the King's service—considering his age and the employments he has had—it was not friendly to fall on him to my prejudice. [But Claverhouse was not to be intimidated:] I have rare cases prepared [he says], if it be the King's interest the rigour of the law be used against all. . . . If there be a necessity of having money, I can give lists, and prove them, of persons ten times guiltier than Dundonald, and able to pay."

One cannot help speculating as to whether Claverhouse would have been so indignant if he had not felt that there was perhaps some excuse for the general gossip as to the incongruity of his union with a lady in whose veins ran un-

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adulterated Covenanting blood. It may be that he was not over-pleased his heart had got the better of his head: "Let not my enemies misrepresent me. . . . I will in despite of them let the world see that it is not in the power of love, nor any other folly, to alter my loyalty."

This phrase comes forcibly and characteristically from Claverhouse whose ruling passion in life and death was loyalty; it would almost seem that he resented the intrusion of any lesser emotion. "My Lord," he concludes, conscious perhaps that he had betrayed too much feeling, "pardon this idle letter."¹

"The "Contract Matrimonial betwixt Colonel John Grahame of Claverhouse and Lady Jean Cochrane"² (June the 9th, 1684) is an interesting document.³ Lord Dundonald provides his granddaughter with a dowry of 40,000 merks,⁴ while Claverhouse settles upon her "the tower, fortalice, and manor place of Glen with houses, biggings, yards, and orchards thereof," and a yearly allowance of 5000 merks Scots⁵ to be paid at Whitsuntide and Martinmas. As security for these settlements, his possessions are set forth in a long and imposing list: "the lands and barony of Ogilvy, commonly called the Glen of Ogilvy" in the parish of Glamis in Forfarshire, various lands in the barony of Dundee, "the lands of Claypots, with the town, fortalice and manor place of the same"⁶; "the house of Dudhope, with garden, orchard, park and planting adjacent thereto; and the office of Constabulary of Dundee, and all other jurisdictions, privileges, etc.," and also the lands of Ballargus and Claverhouse, with the corn mills of

¹ Hist MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 289.

² Presumably the bride would not—strictly speaking—have been entitled to rank as an earl's daughter until 1686, when her brother succeeded to the earldom on the death of her grandfather; but she is styled Lady Jean throughout the contract.

³ Given in full in the Appendix to Claverhouse's "Letters," Bannatyne Club, pp. 88-95.

⁴ £2214, 4s. sterling (Napier's valuation).

⁵ £276, 15s. 6d. sterling (Napier's valuation). The purchasing power of money at that date was at least three times as much again, so that this would represent in modern money more than £850 a year, which, for a seventeenth-century marriage settlement, is fairly liberal.

⁶ Claypots Castle near Broughty Ferry, three miles east of Dundee. (See note, p. 115 *ante*.) "Town" is used in the old Scottish sense, to signify outbuildings.

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the same, and the moor of Ballargus. The lands of Myretoun, Polkello, Broughton Easter and Wester; Monefieth, Polcambock, Tealling, Balgray, Shielhill and Ballumy; the lands of Wariestoun and Craig, with their manor places, orchards, fishings, mosses, moors and meadows carefully enumerated; all these and various others in Forfarshire, and the lands of Polgarvie in Perthshire.

Claverhouse seems to have been determined not to leave anything to chance, and whether he lived or died his wife was not to want for money. In possible default of an heir male he settled his estates upon his eldest daughter, provided she married a "gentleman of the name of Grahame." Then, since it ill became a bridegroom who was marrying for love to impose upon his offspring a mere marriage of convenience, the qualification is added that at least the husband of the future heiress must assume the name of Grahame, and must "wear and bear the arms of the family of Claverhouse."¹ Then follow directions what is to be done in the event of this eldest daughter marrying without the consent or approval of her father. The contract goes on to provide for almost every possible contingency, excepting only that change of dynasty which within a brief five years was to see Claverhouse's wife a homeless widow, and compel her to take refuge at Eglinton Castle, with her sister Margaret, Lady Eglinton, whose lord supported the "immortal and glorious Revolution." This Lord Eglinton (in 1685 Lord Montgomerie) was one of the witnesses to

¹ The ancient Grahame arms were *Argent* on a chief *sable* three escallops *or*; but the posterity of Grahame of Fintry, in virtue of their legitimate descent from Robert III., were permitted to add the royal tressure; the Claverhouse arms were differenced from those of Fintry by the further addition of three pyles wavy. As to the three escallop shells, a curious book called "Britain's Glory," published in 1689 (the year of Claverhouse's Highland Campaign), explains their symbolism in the following fanciful and picturesque language: "The Escallop Shell is the emblem of Unity and Friendship, and shows the first bearer to be a Commander who, by his Valour and Goodness, had so united the Hearts of his followers to him as not to forsake him in all attempts wherever he went." *Or* and *sable* (the Grahame colours) are described as signifying respectively "Wisdom, Magnanimity, Delight and Riches," and "Melancholy and Divine Studies."

Professor Terry remarks that Claverhouse's arms are not to be found in the Lyon Register; but presumably this is because they were "riven furth and delett," by order of the Parliament. (See *ante*. Note on the Cover design.)

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the marriage contract, the others being the bride's first cousin Lord Ross,¹ William Cochrane, younger of Ochiltree (son of that Sir John whom Claverhouse had described as a madman), and "Mr Colin Mackenzie, Advocate," Claverhouse's boyhood's friend who had been a fellow-student with him at St Andrews.²

The signatures of old Lord and Lady Dundonald, the bride's grandparents, are also appended, and that of her brother, Lord Cochrane (the future son-in-law of his Grace of Hamilton) ; but Lady Cochrane's name does not appear, for her Covenanting principles were violently affronted by this alliance with the "Persecutor." Mr Mowbray Morris suggests that her religious scruples may have been fortified by ambition, and that Claverhouse, "though he had risen fast, and was marked by all men as destined to rise still higher, was hardly as yet perhaps a very eligible husband for the pretty Lady Jean."³ To my mind it seems clear that the mother may be acquitted of a double motive, and that her prejudice against Claverhouse was purely theological. His birth, connections, position, prospects and moral character should have sufficed to content the most exacting of matchmaking parents. A man who, in addition to the qualifications already stated, had the further advantage of being on friendly terms with the King and the heir-presumptive to the crown could scarcely be regarded as an ineligible

¹ As the Master of Ross he had been Lieutenant in Lord Hume's troop of Horse, of which he was Captain at the time of Claverhouse's wedding. His father was the Lord Ross who defended Glasgow with Claverhouse after the battle of Drumclog ; and his mother was Lady Grizel Cochrane, daughter of the first Earl of Dundonald and aunt of Claverhouse's bride.

² He was the younger brother of Claverhouse's other friend Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, Lord Advocate. Claverhouse frequently alludes to him in his letters. "I have a great deal to say to your Lordship in favour of Colin Mackenzie," he writes to Queensberry (Edinburgh, October 30, 1683), "but shall delay it till I have the honour to see your Lordship here." This was probably apropos of a billet Mackenzie afterwards secured as Clerk of Council, in place of Patrick Menzies who was dying. A "Mr Colin Mackenzie" is frequently mentioned in attendance on Claverhouse during the Highland Campaign of 1689 (Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., Appendix), but is described sometimes as brother and sometimes uncle to the Earl of Seaforth. The Seaforths and the Mackenzies of Rosehaugh were nearly related, Sir George's father having been a younger brother of George Mackenzie, the second Earl.

³ "Claverhouse, English (*sic*) Worthies," p. 102.

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husband for the youngest daughter of a notoriously disaffected family.

The wedding ceremony took place on Tuesday, June the 10th (1684), at Paisley; but whether in the Dundonald house, "the Place of Paisley," formerly a monastery, or in the Abbey Church close by, cannot be ascertained.

The Abbey in 1684 was in lamentable disrepair; its tower had fallen into ruins, and the unpopular Episcopal Church had lacked the funds to build it up again. Only the nave survived unwrecked; chancel and transepts lay open to all four winds of heaven, and for many years the storms had beaten unrebuked upon the tomb of Marjorie Bruce, the foundress of the royal house of Stuart and ancestress of Claverhouse.

Whether the chilly northern June abated something of its rigour, and allowed the sun to shine upon the bride, is matter only for conjecture; but Fortune and General Dalzell, two unpropitious deities, broke up the marriage feast in sudden peremptory fashion, sending an urgent order that the bridegroom must take horse at once and set out in pursuit of certain Covenanting rebels who, after gathering together in arms at Blackloch some days previously, had disappeared and left no traces of their whereabouts.

When Claverhouse had been provoked into declaring "neither love nor any other folly" should ever turn him from his duty, he could scarcely have expected such a speedy testing of his loyalty; and he would have been more than human had he not resented this untimely summons. Moreover Dalzell, instead of writing to him direct, conveyed the order in a letter to Lord Ross; and this, to anyone as carefully punctilious as Claverhouse, would probably have constituted an additional annoyance. How he felt we may imagine; what his actions were we know from his own narrative. "Hearing that a hundred conventiclers had gone towards the moors in our quarter," he relates, "I marched with the half of the Guards—which, by the way are but twenty-two when they ought to be fifty—and my Lord Ross's troop, and some Dragoons, and thirty Foot, and scoured all the mosses," except

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one part near Lesmahago which was left for Colonel Buchan to inspect on his return.¹

The bridegroom spent his wedding night, and all the following day, in riding across the moors and over the hills between Clydesdale and Ayrshire; but not a sign could he discover of the enemy. On Thursday he and Colonel Buchan parted at Strathaven and went off in different directions, but still the elusive rebels were invisible, and Claverhouse may well have wondered if the uprising were not a bugbear of the General's invention. On Friday morning (the 13th) he returned to Paisley, but he had not spent more than a few hours in his lady's company before he was again obliged to tear himself away from her.

Colonel Buchan had encountered the previous day a Clydesdale man who directed him to a place in the heart of the hills where there were gathered together "a great number of rebels in arms," led by a lusty dark fellow "with one eye" and "a velvet cap." Armed with this description, Buchan had set out at once, intending to scatter the conventicle, but before he reached the place in question a detachment of Foot, that he had sent to march ahead on his right, fell in with an ambuscade of 100 insurgents,² and four of the Royalist advance guard were fired on by seven conventiclers who "started up out of a glen."³ The King's soldiers, not knowing how many enemies might be concealed in ambush, did not venture farther, but returned to warn their Colonel, who, though he gave chase with "all imaginable diligence," could do nothing more than march towards Cumnock in the hope of preventing the fleet-footed fugitives from passing into Galloway.

Claverhouse, on hearing all this, had no choice but to set out once more; the Scriptural excuse of having married

¹ Thomas Buchan, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Mar's Regiment of Foot (commission December 7, 1682, after the death of Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Dalhousie). Buchan in 1686 was promoted to be Brigadier of all the Foot. He remained faithful to King James, and succeeded Colonel Cannon in the command of the small remnant of the Jacobite army after Claverhouse's death. After being defeated by Sir Thomas Livingstone at Cromdale (1690) he fled to France and died in exile.

² Claverhouse to the Lord President of the Court of Session. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 398.)

³ Claverhouse to the Archbishop of St Andrews. (*Ibid.* p. 432.)

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a wife would in his case have been a peculiarly unhappy one. Before starting he wrote to the President of the Court of Session (Sir David Falconer of Newton), briefly reporting his doings since receiving the news of the Blackloch conventicle four days previously.

He does not dissemble his irritation : "Colonel Buchan is yet in pursuit," he concludes, "and I am just taking horse. I shall be revenged some time or other of this unseasonable trouble these dogs give me. They might have let Tuesday pass!"¹

Decorum did not permit of any complaint against the General; but Claverhouse—who doubtless knew Dalzell's grim humour and his declared aversion to the Puritan ladies and their influence—must have been acutely conscious that from the point of view of the Commander-in-Chief it was an excellent comedy to send him out to hunt for rebels on his wedding day. It was additionally provoking that the search proved absolutely futile, and no less futile on this second occasion.

On Sunday, June the 15th, Lord Ross writes to the General, "We have traversed many mosses and moors but have not met the rebels. . . . Claverhouse will give your Excellency more full information"; and Claverhouse accordingly narrates how they had spent Friday and Saturday seeking the conventiclars, leaving "no den, no knowe, no moss, no hill unsearched." "The troops complain mightily of this march," he adds, "and I know not what further can be done."

The following day he was back at Paisley with his wife, and it is characteristic that he found time to write a long letter to the Archbishop of St Andrews; neither "love nor any other folly" seems ever to have interfered with his correspondence.

Apparently the Archbishop had reproached him for neglect, for he begins, "I had not needed any order to have written to your Grace if I had been sure my letters would have found you at Edinburgh. I have given account of

¹ Claverhouse to the Lord President, June 13, 1684. (Napier, vol. ii., p. 398.) Tuesday was his wedding day.

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what has passed here, every post, to those of the King's servants that are at London; and have given the General particular accounts of everything." However, since the Archbishop wished to know more about the expedition, Claverhouse proceeds to supply him with a description of the elaborate manner in which the country had been "scoured." After detailing all his marches, and those of Colonel Buchan, Captain Strachan, and Lord Ross, he concludes,

"We were at the head of Douglas. We were round and over Cairntable, we were at Greenock-head, Cummerhead, and through all the moors, mosses, hills, glens, woods; and spread in small parties, and ranged as if we had been at hunting, all with no result. So, the troops being extremely harassed with marching so much in grounds never trod on before, I have sent them with Colonel Buchan to rest at Dalmellington, till we see where these rogues will start up. We examined all on oath, and offered money, and threatened terribly, for intelligence, but could learn no more."¹

The "rogues" did "start up" some four weeks later, at the gloomy and picturesque ravine of Enterkin, where they lay in wait for a detachment of Claverhouse's men escorting prisoners to Edinburgh. Some of the soldiers were killed in the skirmish, and several of the prisoners rescued; others fell over the cliff or were hurt in the *mêlée*, and only two out of sixteen were taken to Edinburgh.

An incident of this kind precluded the possibility of rest for Claverhouse. On August the 1st the Privy Council "considering that several desperate rebels do daily break out in arms, in multitudes at their seditious field conventicles, and lay ambuscades for his Majesty's forces, and kill some of them, and rescue prisoners in their custody,"² to prevent recurrence of these troubles, ordered troops of Horse under

¹ Claverhouse to the Archbishop of St Andrews, Paisley, July 16, 1684. Napier, vol. ii., 401-403.

² Fountainhall, "Decisions," June 26, 1684; "Historical Observes," p. 136, and "Chronological Notes," p. 41.

The Dalrymples and the Cochranes

Lord Balcarres and Lord Drumlanrig,¹ and Dragoons under other officers, to be dispersed throughout the disaffected country. Claverhouse was appointed to command the entire forces in Clydesdale and Ayrshire, with the addition of a special civil commission to search for offenders and take their evidence on oath and report it to the Government.

His presence had an intimidating and tranquillising effect, for by the end of the month he was at last free to take his bride to his newly acquired Castle of Dudhope. There he spent his long-deferred honeymoon.

"Though I stay a few days here," he wrote to Queensberry, "I hope nobody will reproach me of eating the bread of idleness"²; and certainly this is an accusation which even his worst enemies have never thought of bringing against him.

¹ Balcarres and Drumlanrig were each captain of a troop in Claverhouse's regiment.

² August 25, 1684. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 290.

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1684-1685

To recapitulate all the crimes by which this man, and men like him, goaded the peasantry of the Western Lowlands into madness, would be an endless task, and a few instances must suffice.—MACAULAY, History of England.

It is unjust to desire of others what we would not do ourselves.—CLAVERHOUSE to QUEENSBERRY (October 30, 1684).

Chapter V: The Killing Time 1684-1685

THE property of Dudhope, which in 1682 or thereabouts was characterised as “ane extraordinaire pleasant and sweet place,” with “much planting and fine parks,”¹ is not now recognisable from this description. The town of Dundee, enlarging its boundaries, has by degrees crept all around the castle, which stands forlorn amidst mean streets, reft of its former glory, and defaced by modern alterations. Used one time as a barracks, one time as a storing place for wool and other merchandise, then as a school, it has been pulled about considerably during the last two centuries. An extra storey has been added, windows have been put in, some former doors and windows blocked up, and the rooms so altered that it may be doubted whether any one of them preserves the same proportions as in the seventeenth century. With the aid, however, of some antiquarian and local knowledge, it is possible to form a fair idea of the appearance of the place in 1684 when Claverhouse brought home his bride.²

We must eliminate the squalid houses crowded now between the castle and the river, must wipe out all the

¹ “Information anent the Shire of Forfar,” by John Auchterlony of the Guynd, *circ.* 1682. (“Spottiswood Miscell.,” vol. i.)

² In the following description I depend chiefly upon my own recollection of a visit to Dudhope; upon Auchterlony’s “Information anent the Shire of Forfar” (1682); Robert Edwards’ “County of Angus” (1678); Claverhouse’s marriage-contract; and MacGibbon and Ross’s “Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland,” vol. iv., pp. 270-275.

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huddled mass of buildings on the other three sides, and must see instead a green expanse of park-land, richly wooded with tall elms and ancient oaks, with sycamores and hazels, poplar-trees and willows. The grey-stone castle, flanked on one side by the gardens and a well-stocked orchard, on the other by a slope of greensward stretching to the Tay—stands tall and stately, with its turrets sharply defined against the sky. A great arch, hollowed the whole thickness of the building, forms the entrance on the east front, and on passing under this a large square courtyard is revealed.¹ The outer windows on the south side look down to the Tay; the inner windows of the castle front the gardens and plantations; and beyond is to be seen the Dundee Law, a little green hill destined to be famous as the place where Claverhouse in 1689 unfurled the Royal Standard for the Highland war which was to bring him death and immortality.

Much water was to run under the bridge before then; and in 1684 he had still the most eventful part of his career ahead of him. Remembering that Montrose performed his most brilliant exploits before he was much over thirty, and that at seven or eight and thirty his tumultuous life had reached its tragic close, Claverhouse, then in his thirty-seventh year, still lacking opportunity of military achievement on an extended scale, may well have wondered if the heroic days were over and his hopes to emulate Montrose a mere vain dream.”² Drawing his inspiration from Montrose’s memory—capable as he ultimately proved himself of following in Montrose’s footsteps—the world he lived in cannot but have been profoundly uncongenial; and the Strathmore portrait of him, painted probably about this time,³ is characterised

¹ See diagram in MacGibbon and Ross’s “Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland,” vol. iv., p. 270. The plan of the castle is two sides of a square. The courtyard was formerly enclosed by a high wall which completed the square, but this has disappeared. In 1723 the author of “A Journey through Scotland” describes Dudhope as “a noble ancient pile,” with a square courtyard, and as late as 1760 Pocock refers to the castle as “built about a court.”

² He “had ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose.” (Dalrymple, vol. ii., Part I., Book VIII., p. 300, ed. 1790.)

³ Or possibly a couple of years later. See Appendix II. Portraits of Claverhouse.

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by a fastidious aloofness such as must have isolated him considerably from the greater number of his fast-living and deep-drinking contemporaries. In 1793 Sir Walter Scott stayed a night at Glamis and saw this picture; and its influence upon him can be traced in the inimitable scene in "Red-gauntlet" where Steenie Steenson goes down to Hell to get a receipt from his former master, and finds among the lost souls not only "the fierce Middleton and the dissolute Rothes, and the crafty Lauderdale, and Dalzell with his bald head and a beard to his girdle"; but also Claverhouse, "as beautiful as when he lived, with his long dark curled locks streaming down over his laced buff coat." And Steenie with a kind of awe relates how Claverhouse in this infernal company held himself "apart from them all, and looked at them with a melancholy haughty countenance; while the rest halloed, and sang, and laughed."

This shadow of melancholy, suggested to Sir Walter by the famous portrait, is even more pronounced in another and much earlier picture, painted—so says tradition—at the time when its subject was winning his first "reputation and applause" in foreign service.¹

As a man's character and disposition seldom fail to leave some trace on his appearance, and as character is the keynote of history, there need be no excuse made for describing both these portraits, especially as even the most careful reproductions convey only a faint impression of the originals. In the boyish picture the face—with its pale yet healthy complexion, smooth brow and youthful features framed in masses of dark curling hair—is sensitive and imaginative in the extreme. For beauty it has been compared to Monmouth at a similar age; but, whereas Monmouth's appearance betrays the weakness and vulgarity which ultimately were so glaringly apparent in his character, Claverhouse in youth is chiefly remarkable for intense refinement, and for an air of sorrowful foreboding doubly tragic in so young a face. Between this and the later portrait ten or fifteen years must have elapsed, and there is a wide gulf between the meditative boy at Mel-

¹ See Appendix II.

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ville and the finished man of the world who looks out from the canvas at Glamis Castle.

The boy wears heavy armour of a bygone fashion such as may be seen in portraits of Montrose and Strafford. The mature Claverhouse is in modish garb and carries a gold-headed cane. He shows no trace of steel except a glint of breastplate from underneath his cloak of russet-brown. The tones of the picture are predominantly brown and sombre, with no relief except the white lawn sleeves and lace cravat and golden-hilted sword. There is however a slight touch of foppishness; the sword is worn hanging low, after the manner so angrily denounced in "*England's Vanity*," an amusingly fierce outburst against "effeminacy" in male attire.¹ "Had the Black Prince and the brave Talbot gone thus accoutred into France," says the shocked pamphleteer, "the Flower-de-Luces had never perfumed the Royal arms of England." Such a costume, however, was not to prevent Marlborough from emulating and even surpassing the Black Prince's exploits against our ancient enemies the French, neither had it an effeminising effect on Claverhouse. Reticence, dignity and self-command are the most striking characteristics of the picture; and the face, without losing its refinement, has strengthened considerably. There is still a suggestion of melancholy in the dark grey eyes, but the almost appealing expression of the youthful portrait has given way to a proud austerity such as was very rarely seen in those who gathered round his Majesty King Charles II. This is the Claverhouse who held his own at Whitehall and St James's; and it is from contrasting these two portraits that we may obtain some insight into the development of a character which, though it has been branded enigmatic, is, on closer inspection, from first to last remarkably consistent.

¹ "Our swords lie dangling on our thighs, with the same luxury as our wigs (of the same length) sport themselves upon our breasts." Claverhouse however was guiltless of a wig, and wore his own hair even in 1689 when it was beginning to turn grey.

Those who are curious as to fashions of the time should study "*England's Vanity: or the Voice of God against the monstrous Sin of Pride in Dress and Apparel*." (London, 1682), in which the "Court, Nobility, Gentry, City, and Country" are adjured to renounce their "Antick and Fantastic Garbs, Patches and Paintings, long Perriwigs . . . Curlings and Crispings" and other such "fooleries common to both sexes."

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It has been said by a distinguished modern soldier that the secret of success in leading men is sympathy, and that, with few exceptions, the greatest military commanders have been men of keen imaginative sympathies. The most famous instance to the contrary which here recurs to memory is Wellington, who won rather respect and confidence than warm affection or enthusiasm. But Montrose, Claverhouse's master in the art of war, had been possessed of that especial type of sympathetic imagination which, combined with intense physical and mental vigour, strategic skill, and power of initiative, is essential for the General who would command irregular troops. Such sympathy may be disguised under a cold exterior, but in a crisis its effect is magical; and, judging by the campaign of 1689, the self-contained austere Dundee possessed it almost as strongly as the infinitely more romantic "Great Marquess." Bearing this in mind, the Melville and Glamis portraits, representing as they do the dreaming boy and the awakened man, help us to evolve therefrom that complete product, the leader who in the final phases of his life evoked such passionate enthusiasm from the Highland clans.

On investigation, Lord Dundee of 1689 and Colonel Grahame of the "Killing Time," though working under widely differing conditions, appear alike supported by stern sense of duty, and alike remarkable for the invariable habit of subordinating private interests to the interests of a cause.

In the ensuing narrative it will be shown how characteristically Claverhouse fell out with the all-powerful High Treasurer, and hazarded his own prosperity, in effort to win justice for some friendless common soldiers who had no one but himself to plead for them. To say that he was a strict disciplinarian, and that his hand was strong to quell disorder, is only to say he was efficient in the profession he had chosen; but, far from dealing out death sentences with indiscriminate zest (as even Walter Scott believed had been his habit), he was in fact more merciful than the majority of his contemporaries.

We left him eating the bread of idleness at Dudhope; but he did not long indulge in such unwonted diet, for his

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attention and energies were speedily claimed by his new duties as Constable of Dundee. In the Dundee Tolbooth at this time were several prisoners who had been sentenced to death (presumably by Claverhouse's predecessor), not for murder, treason, or crimes of any desperate kind, but for the offence of theft, in varying degrees. Such was the law in 1684; such was the law within the recollection of our own great-grandfathers.¹

A conventional-minded magistrate would have handed the offenders over to the hangman, and have thought no more about them. Claverhouse, on the contrary, though newly married and in love, left his young bride and went to Edinburgh to put the case before the Privy Council and demand that he as Constable should be empowered to remit the sentences from death to whipping or banishment according to the nature of the fault.

We may conjecture that his brethren of the Council very likely thought him squeamish and eccentric to waste time and energy upon so trivial a question; but, as the granting his petition did not clash with any of their interests, there was no reason why they should make difficulties; so on September the 10th they accorded him "full power and commission," on this and future similar occasions, to "restrict" the death penalty "appointed by law" and fit the punishment to the crime according to his judgment.²

Considering the age in which he lived, Claverhouse's conduct with regard to these condemned prisoners is a remarkable indication of his capacity for coming to independent conclusions. The law was not then logical, much less merciful,³ and that an effectual protest against its disproportionate

¹ Until the reign of George IV. death was, in English law, the penalty for sheep-stealing, horse-stealing, highway robbery and all theft except petty larceny (*i.e.* theft of goods under one shilling in value). In Scotland an Act abolishing capital punishment for theft was only passed so lately as 1887; but prior to that there appears to have been a considerable difference between law and precedent, and the severity of the sentence depended upon the gravity of the crime. As the Privy Council refers to the death sentences of the Dundee prisoners as the punishment "*appointed by law*" it is clear they came within the prohibited degree.

² Register of the Privy Council. Edinburgh, September 10, 1684.

³ See Appendix IV., on the use of Torture in Scotland.

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severity should have been made on behalf of the then neglected lower classes by the man whom one of his own order angrily described as of "a high, proud, and peremptory spirit"¹ is exceedingly significant.²

It is such an incident as this repeal of the death sentences which brings home to us how little Claverhouse had in common with the average man of his time. Reading his letters and contemplating his actions we cannot but observe that in some respects he seems remarkably modern; and for the moment we almost forget by what a wide gulf we of to-day are separated from our ancestors of the seventeenth century. To realise this, and to bring back the mental atmosphere in which Claverhouse lived, it is necessary to remind ourselves that in Scotland not only the "mobile, mob, or giddy multitude" then believed in sorcery, but even wise and worldly lawyers held witch-burning an essential part of Christianity; that the dragon, the phoenix and the salamander were still believed by the credulous vulgar to walk abroad, and the basilisk to kill by its glances; and that formal compacts with the devil were not thought to be beyond the bounds of reason. Life was cheap, and death the penalty for offences which we would now dismiss with a fine or imprisonment. The superficial graces thinly veiled the fundamental brutality of the times, and too many men of the world took it for granted that they should squander a large proportion of their vigour in those "wild debaucheries" which in their eyes were merely venial sins, if not desirable accomplishments. In these latter characteristics Claverhouse was conspicuously lacking, and in comment on his abstinence it is diverting to find one of his most abusive detractors in the

¹ Lord Moray to the Duke of Queensberry. See p. 165 *supra*.

² Starting his local administration in such heterodox fashion, Claverhouse seems never to have gained the confidence of the Municipality; but Dundee was a headstrong town and had been always inclined to jealousy of the judicial powers of its Constables. In 1688 (March 15th) the King appointed Claverhouse Provost of Dundee, which, comments Fountainhall, "joined with his Constable's jurisdiction makes him absolute there." ("Chronol. Notes," p. 250. "Hist. Notices," vol. ii., p. 860.) On March 27 Lord Balcarres formally installed him. He presided as Provost at the Town Council, March 27, 29 and 31, April 9, August 9, September 4. Then came the Revolution, and his journey to England. On his return to Scotland he presided as Provost, February 24 and, for the last time, February 27, 1689. (Terry, "Claverhouse," p. 228, note.)

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next century angrily writing of "the Hell-wicked-witted bloodthirsty Grahame of Claverhouse, who hated to spend his time with wine and women, which made him more active in violent unheard of persecution, especially blood."¹

Early in the October after his marriage he was on circuit with Queensberry and Drumlanrig. On the 27th of the month he was riding sixty miles from Dumfries to Edinburgh, through "a great storm of snow and frost," arriving in town at daylight on the 28th.

Writing to Queensberry, two days later, from Burntisland, presumably on his way to Dudhope (October the 30th), he says that when he dined the previous day "at Blair's—with the Chancellor, Secretary, and all the good company in town"—the state of the disaffected shires came under discussion, and, after recounting what was said, he takes occasion to protest against a bond in which heritors are made responsible for all that happens on their lands.² "It is unjust to desire of others what we would not do ourselves," he says; adding by way of illustration that he would think it most unreasonable if he should happen to be "forfeited and hanged" because his tenant's wife, twenty miles away "in the midst of hills and woods," had given shelter to a fugitive.³

¹ Walker, "Biographia Presbyteriana," vol. ii., p. 56.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII, p. 291.

³ Claverhouse again pointed out the injustice of holding landlords responsible for the political vagaries of their tenants. He brought up the subject in support of the petition of a Kirkcudbrightshire gentleman, Edward Maxwell of Hills. Accused of "resett and converse" with one Gilbert Walsh, a rebel fugitive (who had been a cotter on the Hills estates), Maxwell of Hills had been fined 3000 marks by the Commissioners of Justiciary, and on failure to pay the fine had been cast into captivity in Kirkcudbright gaol. Hills maintained that he always had been loyal, and that all he had done was to allow Walsh's wife, who was "bedfast through sickness," to remain in her cottage until her recovery. He also pleaded that being a life-renter of his estate he was too poor to pay the fine. Accordingly Claverhouse and Drumlanrig represented to the Privy Council that he had "ever hitherto lived regularly," that he had refused to go with the rebels "who broke the prison at Kirkcudbright"; that he "did cast out Walsh's wife as soon as she was recovered"; and that he had taken the Test Oath, in consideration of which it would be reasonable to discharge 2000 marks of the fine, the remaining 1000 being held over his head till it appeared what his future behaviour would be. In the meantime it was recommended that he should be set at liberty. In consequence of Claverhouse's representation to the Council, Hills was released as suggested. (Act by the Lords of the Privy Council, in favour of Edward Maxwell of Hills, January 20, 1685.)

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Nine days after Claverhouse wrote this letter, Renwick's Declaration was affixed to "sundry market crosses and church doors in the Western Shires" (November the 8th, 1684). This remarkable document, dated October the 28th and drawn up in a kind of parody of a royal proclamation, is given in full by Wodrow, who printed it from a copy in Renwick's handwriting.¹ It disowns "the authority of Charles Stuart . . . and all authority depending upon him"; and Mr Renwick, after expressing pious indignation at the idea that he was believed to uphold "that hellish principle" of slaying all who differed from him, proceeded to specify exceptions, and to declare war against the King and his "accomplices," especially against "Generals of forces, adjutants, captains, lieutenants, bloody militia men, malicious troopers, soldiers, and dragoons; likewise such gentlemen and commons, who, through wickedness and ill-will, ride and run with the foresaid persons. Every one of such" and all who exercise justiciary power on the King's behalf are declared enemies "to God and the Covenanted work of reformation" and are promised speedy and appropriate punishment. "Let not any think," says Renwick emphatically, "that (our God assisting us) we will be so slack-handed, in time coming, to put matters in execution as heretofore we have been, seeing we are bound faithfully and valiantly to maintain our Covenants and the cause of Christ."

These threats were soon carried out, and Fountainhall records that the "wild fanatics" ridiculously keep mock courts of justice, and cite any they judge their inveterate enemies . . . and condemn them and thereafter murder them."²

One of the cases in question is noted thus by him :

"20th November 1684. The news came this morning to Edinburgh that some of the desperate fanatics had last night fallen in upon two of the King's Life Guards, viz., Thomas Kennoway and Duncan Stewart, who were lying at

¹ "History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland," vol. iv., pp. 48-49.

² Fountainhall's "Decisions," vol. i., p. 320.

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the Swine Abbey beyond Blackburn in Linlithgow, and murdered them most barbarously."

In comment on this, the Duke of York writes to Queensberry that Renwick's Declaration shows "what all loyal men are to expect" from the insurgents, for now they are unable to overturn the Government "they will vent their malice upon private persons."¹

It was to try and put a stop to outrages of this kind that the Privy Council then instituted what the Covenanters described as "intricate, implicate, multifarious and unnecessary oaths," the "foul, cunning, rotten distinctions" of which are denounced by Walker with his customary energy.² It is worth while to give the exact words of that celebrated Abjuration Oath which has been so much oftener condemned than quoted.

"I do hereby abhor, renounce, and disown, in the presence of the Almighty God, the pretended Declaration of War lately affixed at several parish churches, *in so far as it declares war against his sacred Majesty, and asserts that it is lawful to kill such as serve his Majesty in Church, State, Army, or Country, or such as act against the authors of the pretended Declaration now shown me.* And I do hereby utterly renounce and disown the villainous authors thereof, who did, as they call it, statute and ordain the same, and what is therein mentioned. And I swear I shall never assist the authors of the said pretended Declaration, or their emissaries or adherents *in any point of punishing, killing, or making of war,* any manner of way, as I shall answer to God."³

It is frequently stated that the tyrannical Government required the insurgents to renounce their faith or die; but it will be observed that, on the contrary, the Abjuration is so worded that none but the most violent fanatic could refuse it.

¹ Letter dated St James's, November 27, 1684. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 211.)

² "Biographia Presbyteriana," vol. i., p. viii.

³ Privy Council Register. Napier, vol. ii., p. 448. Wodrow, vol. ii., App., p. 158. See also "Life and Death of Mr James Renwick," "Biog. Pres.," vol. ii., p. 68.

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No theological dogma is involved ; the case is civil not religious ; and though this method of discriminating between the orderly and lawless members of the body politic was certainly most drastic, yet it will be seen how adequately it served its purpose and stamped out what otherwise would have inevitably developed into a very dangerous insurrection.

The spirit of rebellion was abroad ; Argyll's and Monmouth's enterprises against the Crown must be recalled to memory ; and from a practical point of view it is quite obvious that none but the most chicken-hearted Government would have remained passive under such a challenge as had been flung down by Mr Renwick and his firebrand associates. In the outpourings of the modern sentimental school of writers it is implied that those in power broke into orgies of gross persecution for sheer love of sport, and that the Scots nobility went shooting Covenanters in much the same light-hearted way as their descendants shoot wild-duck or grouse. This impression being still prevalent in Scotland, it is not surprising that the Covenanters of 1685 have won widespread sympathy, and have become a synonym for persecuted innocence of an idyllic type which bears no trace of likeness to the sturdy truculent originals. That they were doggedly courageous and could face death readily is plain enough ; their willingness to "seal the truth with their blood" had been proved at Bothwell Bridge and elsewhere. They were however, as their Declaration stated, still more willing and desirous to seal it with the blood of other people ; and the other people, naturally enough, objected. Hence the necessity for the Abjuration Oath, and hence the Act of Parliament which dictated that any persons who owned or refused to disown Renwick's "treasonable Declaration, on oath, whether they have arms or not, be immediately put to death ; this being always done in the presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission to that effect."

It was in accordance with this drastic law that the notorious John Brown, the "Christian Carrier," was subsequently shot ; and though to deal now with his case is slightly to anticipate in point of date, it nevertheless may suitably

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be cited here in comment on the Abjuration. A legion of myths and fables have in later times grown up around the incident, but it will suffice to state what actually happened, which is easily ascertained because the matter is reported in detail by Claverhouse to the Lord Justice General, Queensberry. The "Persecutor" writes on May the 3rd, 1685, from Galston (close to Loudoun Castle, and not far from Drumclog, the scene of his defeat in 1679) :

"On Friday last amongst the hills betwixt Douglas and the Ploughlands we pursued two fellows a great way through the mosses, and in end seized them. They had no arms about them, and denied they had any. But, being asked if they would take the Abjuration, the eldest of the two, called John Brown, refused it. Nor would he swear not to rise in arms against the King, but said he knew no King. Upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house and treasonable papers,¹ I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly."²

¹ Macaulay's ideal and imaginary John Brown was "versed in divine things, blameless in life, and so peaceable that the tyrants could find no offence in him except that he absented himself from the public worship of the Episcopalians."

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 292.

Macaulay's dramatic version, founded on eighteenth-century tradition (as related by Wodrow and Walker), is that the man's wife and child were present, and that even the hardened and inhuman troopers positively refused to shoot the blameless Mr Brown. "The prisoner, meanwhile, raised above himself by the near prospect of eternity, prayed loud and fervently as one inspired, till Claverhouse in a fury shot him dead. It was reported by credible witnesses that the widow cried out in her agony, 'Well, sir, well; the day of reckoning will come'; and the murderer replied 'to man I can answer for what I have done; and as for God, I will take him into my own hand.' Yet it was rumoured that even on his seared conscience and adamant heart the dying ejaculations of his victim made an impression which was never effaced." ("History," vol. i., ed. 1850.)

It has been repeatedly pointed out that "the peaceable" Mr Brown was a truculent rebel; that by Act of Parliament Claverhouse had no option but to have him executed when he refused to take the Abjuration Oath; and it has further been clearly demonstrated that Macaulay's "credible witnesses" are as fictitious as the details thus put forth in their name. But the myth, which is of a robust constitution, still seems none the worse for all attempts to slay it; and in a recent novel by the late "Ian Maclaren" the loquacious ghost of John Brown holds a lengthy conversation with the Persecutor on the eve of Killiecrankie. The law being what it was, Claverhouse is no more to be criticised for executing Brown than a judge is now to be reprehended for condemning the prisoner who pleads guilty in the dock.

Of the many absurd points in the Brown tradition, the two most absurd are the blasphemous retort of Claverhouse—who in real life was scrupulously decorous—and the

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The other man, his nephew, John "Brownen" or Browning, offered to take the oath, but "would not swear that he had not been at Newmilns in arms," rescuing some Covenanting prisoners.¹ Claverhouse, though convinced of his guilt, "saw not how to proceed against him." Therefore he drew up carbines ready to shoot him, and after letting him say his prayers, offered, as he tells Queensberry, to "delay putting him to death, and plead for him" if he would make any disclosure that would be useful for the King's service.

Browning then admitted "that he was at that attack of Newmilns and that he had come straight to this house of his uncle's on Sunday morning. In the time he was making this confession, the soldiers found out a house in the hill, underground, that could hold a dozen of men; and there were swords and pistols in it," which belonged to John Brown, who had "lurked in that place ever since Bothwell when he was in arms."

Browning then gave an account of a conventicle near Loudoun Hill, and one "kept by Renwick at the back of Cairntable where there were thirteen score of men in arms mustered and exercised," of which he was one.

"I doubt not but if we had time to stay, good use might be made of his confession," says Claverhouse, and adds, "I have acquitted myself when I have told your Grace the case. He has been but a month or two with his halbert."

It must here be explained that the relations between Claverhouse and Queensberry were—as will be subsequently shown—much strained at this time. Claverhouse had even

mutiny of his troopers. The latter report is of the same type as the astounding statements which in our own day figured in certain foreign papers during the late Boer War, to the effect that the "oppressive" campaign was so unpopular in England that our English soldiers had been driven on board the troopships by main force, embarking only under influence of physical violence from their low-minded brutal officers. The Macaulays of the future will no doubt describe such scenes on the authority of "credible witnesses."

¹ At Newmilns, seven miles from Kilmarnock, "A man named Browning from Lanfine, with others who had been with him at Airds Moss, got large sledge-hammers from the old smithy (still in existence) with which they broke open the prison doors and permitted the Covenanters to escape." (Paterson's "Ayrshire," pp. 317-318.) This presumably was Claverhouse's "John Brownen."

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been deprived of his place in the Privy Council, on the assumption that his marriage into a "fanatic family" had damped his loyal ardour; and his rival, Douglas, Queensberry's brother, had been employed instead of him in Galloway. Throughout the "Killing Time," Claverhouse was out of favour with his Majesty's Government, and his powers were considerably curtailed. He concludes his letter to Queensberry by saying of John Browning,

"If your Grace thinks he deserves no mercy, justice will pass on him, for I—having no commission of justiciary myself—have delivered him up to the Lieutenant-General to be disposed of as he pleases."¹

Tradition has elevated John Brown to a high place in the martyrology,² but how little the moderate Presbyterians

¹ It is, of course, a wild flight of fancy to say, as Aikman and Malcolm Laing do, that "any trooper," who chose to interrogate the Covenanters, could shoot them at pleasure, and that the "meanest sentinel was invested with justiciary powers." This is to attribute to the King's soldiers such absence of discipline as prevailed among the Covenanters themselves. Claverhouse's justiciary commission had lapsed at Charles II.'s death, and had not been renewed. Napier states that "Brownen is not to be found among the martyrs," so one might be led to infer that he was pardoned in consequence of being handed over to General Drummond by Claverhouse with a recommendation to mercy. The author of "The Despot's Champion" however maintains that he "in all probability retracted his submission," as it is "nearly certain" that he was included in an indictment for refusing the Abjuration, and was hanged accordingly (p. 195). His case is not mentioned by either Wodrow or Walker in their sensational and contradictory descriptions of the uncle's death. The case of one Andrew Hislop, another "martyr," whose death is one of many traditionally laid to Claverhouse's account, is somewhat similar to that of John Browning. It appears that he was handed over to the justiciary power of Johnstone of Westerhall by Claverhouse with a recommendation to mercy.

² Brown's epitaph "on a gravestone at Priesthill" is thus given in the "Cloud of Witnesses":

"Here lies the body of John Brown, Martyr, who was murdered in this place by Grahame of Claverhouse for his testimony to the Covenanted work of Reformation, because he durst not own the authority of the then tyrant destroying the same, who died the first day of May A.D. 1685, and of his age 58."

The sense in which the word "murder" was used by the Covenanters must be clearly understood; it applied exclusively to the death of one of their own party, whether in battle or on the scaffold; when they killed a Cavalier or a churchman they were "executing the righteous judgment of God." A Covenanter of the name of James Nichol, interrogated before the Privy Council and afterwards condemned, when asked if the slaying of Archbishop Sharpe was murder, replied emphatically that it was not. But when asked if the execution of Hackston of Rathillet (who had superintended the slaughter in question) was murder, he replied "That it was indeed." ("Cloud of Witnesses," pp. 388, 389, ed. 1871.)

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of his own day would have sympathised with him or upheld him may be gathered from the Rev. Robert Law's note of a very similar case previously detailed¹:

"June 13, 1683, did one William Boak suffer death at Glasgow for being at Bothwell Bridge rebellion, and renouncing the King's authority. If his bidding God save the King would have redeemed his life, he would not say it; and yet on the ladder in his last word he blessed God he was honoured to be a martyr for Christ and his truths. *Non est mors, sed causa mortis, quæ fecit martyrem.*"²

Law admits that many of the fanatics died courageously, but he protests against the "ignorance" that would miscall their obstinacy "Christian fortitude."³

Claverhouse several years previously had expressed his opinion that if the King and the Duke knew "what those rebellious villains they call ministers put in the heads of the people they would think it necessary to keep them out." The poor people about Minnigaff had confessed to him upon oath that they were made to renew the Covenant, and were told that the King intended to force Catholicism upon them.⁴ The mischief-making capacities of these clerical agitators are no less emphatically censured by a Presbyterian contemporary: "These men," he says, "do much glory in the ignorance, simplicity, indiscretion, and infirmities of the poor vulgar, a thing not to be gloried in nor boasted of."⁵

The doctrines they inculcated were, as their most ardent admirers have shown, most certainly calculated to promote anything but peace and quietness. They denounced toleration as "Carnality, Formality, Hypocrisy, Neutrality, and Indifference" such as must increase God's "displeasure and hot anger,"⁶ which they feared had originally been provoked by

¹ Pp. 118, 119 *ante*.

² Law's "Memorialls," p. 248.

³ *Ibid.* p. 183.

⁴ Claverhouse to Queensberry, April 17, 1682. Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., pp. 272, 273.

⁵ Law's "Memorialls," p. 143.

⁶ Walker's "Biographia Presbyteriana."

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the quarter given by them to some of the enemy at Drumclog. It would be well, they maintained, to exterminate "the old Serpent's Brood, the Popish, Prelatical, and Malignant Faction," and so prevent "black infatuate" Toleration from demoralising the whole of Scotland.

Extensive quotation of their sentiments is impossible here, but, to do the Covenanters justice, it must be admitted that their powers of vituperation have seldom been surpassed. From the Government point of view, however, the votaries of a creed which for so many years had inculcated the most bloodthirsty and seditious doctrines were not entitled to be tenderly treated. As an eminent Presbyterian lawyer has recorded, it was feared that "the poisonous leaven" being diffused through the "giddy people, loving change and always inclined to believe the worst of their rulers," would again bring about "the same State convulsions as such tricks did formerly draw on us."¹

One of the most notorious of the ministers, preaching on the text "And I will arise against the House of Jeroboam with the sword," was careful to make clear his meaning. "Have at the unhappy Race of Stuarts," he said. "Off the throne of Britain they shall go."² When talking to a friend he optimistically remarked, "You and I will both be in Heaven shortly," and he explained that the main joy of heaven would consist in his giving his "hearty assent" to the "eternal sentence of damnation" of all whose religious opinions differed from his own.³

In vain did rational theologians lament that
"there are but too many Christians who would consecrate
their vice and hallow their corrupt affections ; whose rugged

¹ Fountainhall, "Observes," p. 2.

² "Life of Peden," "Biog. Pres.," vol. i., p. 49.

³ "Biog. Pres.," vol. i., p. 55. Apropos of this type of eloquence a Royalist pamphleteer says, reasonably enough, "If the great things of religion be true, if we have anything that distinguishes us from the beasts that perish, if our souls survive our bodies, and if our belief and hopes of invisible things and that state of retribution be not entirely a dream, what greater affront can be done to the majesty of God, the dignity of human nature, and the common sense of mankind, than thus by mock sermons to lampoon the great truths of the gospel?" ("An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland." London, 1693.)

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humour and sullen will must pass for Christian serenity ; whose fierce wrath and bitter rage against their enemies must be called holy zeal ; whose petulancy towards their superiors must have the name of Christian courage and resolution.”¹

In vain did members of the moderate party point out that to be disloyal and rebellious “is certainly in itself to do evil whatever may be the intent of it.”²

Montrose some forty-five years previously had expressed his conviction that the division between the King and the people, though caused primarily by “ambitious designs of rule in great men, veiled under the specious pretext of religion and the subject’s liberties,” had been much fermented by the “arguments and false positions of seditious preachers.”³ Sir George Mackenzie, writing of the events of Claverhouse’s day, gives a similar notion of the fanatical ministers. Any unprejudiced man must allow, he comments, that the State had reason to think that the same party which had

“overturned the Government under King Charles I., retaining still the same principles as sacred, and bursting forth into the same excesses under King Charles II. were still to be kept in awe and within the barriers of law ; and that by their own principle of *Salus Populi*, better some few of the society should perish than that the whole should go to ruin.”⁴

The conduct of the Government was, according to the King’s Advocate, “founded on a series of uncontraverted laws, and upon long and deplorable experience of the mischiefs” occasioned by the Covenanters. After the battle of Bothwell Bridge the King had granted an Indemnity and an Indulgence,⁵ but nevertheless, to use Mackenzie’s words,

¹ P. 3, ed. 1870, of Scourgal’s “Life of God in the Soul of Man,” first published 1667.

² Law’s “Memorials,” p. 143.

³ Letter in Napier’s “Memoirs of Montrose,” vol. i., p. 286.

⁴ “Jus Regium,” p. 9.

⁵ After Bothwell Bridge, “on June 29, the King sent instructions to the Privy Council that 300 or 400 of the prisoners should be sent to the plantations, and that the rest should be liberated on condition that they pledged themselves never again to rise in arms ; and the first of these orders, which had been suggested by the Council itself,

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“a new plot was entered into, and it was contrived in a meeting of the Scots at London that 20,000 men should be raised in Scotland, and that the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle and all the officers of State should be seized ; which was likewise seconded by Monmouth and Argyll’s rebellion, Anno 1685. Whereupon the Parliament, finding that the preaching up of rebellion in private conventicles had occasioned all this danger to King and people, and nothing could be secure while everything might be preached, they enacted that the ministers who preached at conventicles should be capitally punished” ;

but no man, adds Mackenzie, was ever executed by virtue of this Act.

Sir George Mackenzie, who was one of the Judges of the Criminal Court, and “either an actor in or a witness to” all the transactions he mentions, is well worth a hearing. He says his object is “rather to cement than widen differences,” and his vindication of Charles II.’s Scottish administration (written six years after that monarch’s death, and two years after the Revolution) is a work of great interest.¹ He expresses surprise that the late Government is “taxed with so much cruelty,” considering that the Acts against house conventicles are the same as the English law and not only “less severe than those made against Dissenters in Queen Elizabeth’s time” or those executed by the Presbyterians and Independents in New England, but “much more gentle than those our Presbyterians made when they governed.”

Whatever may be said against such acts in countries where formed the principal exception to the indemnity, which was proclaimed on August 14. This exception, however, was soon withdrawn, the bond of peace intended for the majority of the prisoners being offered to them all. Four hundred declined to purchase their liberty by signing this bond, of whom about 100 escaped, or through the influence of their friends with the Council were unconditionally set free, and about 40 were ultimately prevailed upon to yield.” (Mathieson’s “Politics and Religion,” vol ii., pp. 281-282.)

¹ Mackenzie in his “Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland” says, “I may without vanity premise that no man hath writ an history who knew more intimately the designs, and observed more narrowly all the circumstances of those actions he sets down, than myself ; having been either an actor in or a witness to all the transactions which I mention, especially since the year 1677 at which time I was made H.M.’s Advocate” (p. 4).

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Dissenters never entered into a war, resumes Sir George, they were on this occasion the "necessary product" of circumstances, and were "not punishments designed against opinions in religion, but merely against treasonable combinations." This is the point which is persistently ignored by the sentimental school of writers, who will be surprised and indignant at Mackenzie's assertion that "no man in Scotland ever suffered for his religion" during the so-called "Killing Time." This has been condemned as sophistry, but "If any will pretend that religion obliges him to rise in arms, or to murder," remarks the Advocate, this principle ought neither to be considered legitimate, nor the condemnation of it be censured.

"The bulk of all the processes in King Charles II.'s and King James VII.'s reigns were against such as rose in actual rebellion" at Pentland Hills, Bothwell Bridge, and in Argyll's invasion. The other two classes of men prosecuted by the Government were the murderers of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the promoters of declarations that it was lawful to kill all who served the King in Church or State.

"Though above 20,000 had been guilty of public rebellion, yet 200 died not by the Criminal Court, and above 150 of these might have saved their lives by saying 'God bless the King'; not that the refusing to say this was made a crime (as is villainously represented) but that this easy defence was allowed under the gentle King, whose clemency we wish may be imitated by those who cry so much out against his cruelty." Moreover, out of the thousands that rose with Argyll, "only two notorious rebels were pitched upon by the Criminal Court to die for the example and terrour of others."¹

Let us turn from the pages of Mackenzie to those of Macaulay :

"Those shires [he says] in which the Covenanters were most numerous were given up to the licence of the army. With the army was mingled a militia, composed of the most violent

¹ Pp. 34, 35, "A True Account of the Forms used in pursuits of Treason according to the Law of Scotland." Written in 1690 by Sir Geo. Mackenzie.

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and profligate of those who called themselves Episcopalians. Pre-eminent among the bands which oppressed and wasted these unhappy districts were the Dragoons commanded by James Graham of Claverhouse.¹ The story ran that these wicked men used in their revels to play at the torments of hell, and to call each other by the names of devils and damned souls."

This picturesque paragraph to be fully appreciated must be read after consulting the muster roll of the regiment in question. Claverhouse, the Colonel, had under him in 1685 six troops, which were captained by noblemen such as the Earl of Drumlanrig (the Duke of Queensberry's eldest son); Lord Ross (whose father had commanded the troops at Glasgow in 1679); Lord William Douglas (Drumlanrig's younger brother); the Earl of Airlie (who in his youth had greatly distinguished himself in Montrose's wars), and Colin Lindsay, third Earl of Balcarres, beloved by his friends for his genial manner, handsome face and generous nature.² Claverhouse while commanding the regiment was still Captain of his original troop, with Bruce of Earlshall as his Captain-Lieutenant, David Grahame as Cornet, and a kinsman, Robert Grahame, as Adjutant or *Aide-Majeur*. The Dragoons which served as auxiliaries to Claverhouse were, on Dalzell's death in 1685, commanded by Lord Charles Murray, their former Lieutenant-Colonel, who in the following year was created Earl of Dunmore. There was also, it should be remembered, a troop of Life Guards under George, Lord Livingstone,³ whose appointment dated from the death of the Marquess of Montrose in 1684. Leaving out of the question the improbability of these Cavaliers anticipating for themselves an ultimate

¹ It was pointed out to Macaulay that Claverhouse's Christian name was not James, but John, and that his own regiment was not Dragoons but Horse. At the same time all Macaulay's other misstatements were exposed (by John Paget, Barrister-at-Law, "The New Examen," Edinburgh, 1861). The historian in a subsequent edition corrected the Christian name, but characteristically left all the serious calumnies and mistakes precisely as originally perpetrated.

² Balcarres married, as his second wife, Claverhouse's first cousin, Lady Jean Carnegie, daughter of David, second Earl of Northesk.

³ His father, the Earl of Linlithgow, had been Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish forces when Claverhouse entered the service.

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destination which most men reserve for their enemies,¹ and, without presupposing any remarkably exalted virtues in the Scottish nobility at this period, even the most cautious critic, on learning the names of the men who officered Claverhouse's regiment, will, if he knows anything of their individual characters, acquit them of the childishness of practising burlesque demonology. It need scarcely be remarked that if Claverhouse and his officers had committed a tenth of the follies or brutalities afterwards attributed to them by popular imagination, they would rapidly have been superseded for incapacity and illegal oppression.²

But "Ignorance hath an owl's eyes and an eagle's wings," and it is not to be supposed that historical evidence will ever dethrone Claverhouse from his infamous pre-eminence in the imagination of the Lowland peasantry. Accustomed as they are to see his name held up to execration on the countless

¹ References to the inevitable descent to hell of the Malignants abound in the works of the "godly," but, however agreeable such contemplations may have been to the Covenanters, it is unlikely that the Malignants themselves could really have been supposed to take pleasure in anticipating their own damnation. Macaulay's remarkable sentence appears to be founded on a misreading of Wodrow, that industrious but credulous chronicler who intersperses his history with marvellous stories of ghosts and miracles, of a horse which could cure the King's evil, and of "the meikle black devil" who used to converse secretly with Archbishop Sharpe in the small hours of the morning. The passage in Wodrow's "History," however, refers to the militia under the celebrated Grierson of Lag, and does not make any mention of Claverhouse in connection with those highly original revels. "Dreadful were the acts of wickedness done by the soldiers at this time," says Wodrow, "and Lag was as deep as any. They used to take to themselves in their cabals the names of devils, and persons supposed to be in Hell, and with whips to lash one another as a jest upon Hell." This seems to imply that the fanatics' idea of a jest was as peculiar as their idea of Christianity.

² Mackenzie says that the Government had no wish to punish anyone whom it could reclaim. See also the Privy Council's instructions to Viscount Kenmuir for dealing with the South-Western shires. "The Council doubt not but upon this occasion you will take care that honest men and their tenants meet with as little trouble as possible." May 29, 1685. (Napier, vol. iii., p. 455.)

In 1680 Fountainhall records a case which is worth quoting: one Fergusson, employed to seize Bothwell Bridge fugitives in the Duke of Hamilton's country, happened to confound the innocent with the guilty; for this offence he was imprisoned by order of the Privy Council. Some of the leading landowners of the shires through which Claverhouse is represented as having raged like a demon were members of the Privy Council, and were sufficiently jealous to have watched eagerly for any pretext to denounce him. It is therefore worthy of remark that on no occasion is he accused by them of cruelty, and that Queensberry when trying to ruin him could find nothing to say against him except that as he had married into a Whig family it was unsafe to commit the King's secrets to him.

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"martyrs' monuments," it is only to be expected that they should continue to picture him as a ferocious ruffian whose life was spent in hunting innocent people over the hills, for sheer joy of the sport it afforded him to witness their sufferings. It would be vain to seek to persuade the descendants of the western zealots that he was indeed remarkable for self-control and moderation. This would be to rob them of their most cherished legend, and for them—despite the publication of historical manuscripts, despite Privy Council records, despite the revelations of "Time's old daughter Truth"—he is likely to remain till the end of time the Archfiend's favourite, the oppressor of the saints, the "ever accursed and damnable Bluidy Claver'se."¹

In the mass of political writings issued in the years immediately following the Revolution, there were naturally many pamphleteers who found it both easy and profitable to blacken the late Government; but—despite the execution of Anderton the printer, for publishing Jacobite writings²—

¹ A number of the "Martyrs' monuments" were erected after the Revolution, and as the majority of the "persecutors" had then acquiesced in the new Government, Claverhouse was the only distinguished man, except Grierson of Lag, who remained identified with the old régime and could safely be slandered without fear of the consequences; hence the frequency with which his name appears on tombstones. These monumental inscriptions used not to be taken very seriously, and the following episode will illustrate the way they were originally regarded:—Captain Crichton relates how in 1686 the Duke of Hamilton, himself a Presbyterian, had ordered him to try and "destroy" the notorious David Steele, who ever since the capture of Hackston of Rathillet had been the head of a party of insurgents, and had for five years baffled all the efforts of the Government to run him to ground. He was discovered at last by some of Crichton's Dragoons, and killed by them when he was attempting to escape. (Crichton, "Memoirs," pp. 58, 59.) Crichton describes how Steele's admirers after the Revolution "erected a fair monument, on pillars over his grave," with an inscription setting forth how the saint and martyr David Steele had been "murdered" by Crichton. Crichton narrates with some complacency how his friends parodied the epitaph

"Here lies the body of Saint Steele,
Murdered by John Crichton that deil,"

and how the Duke of Hamilton jestingly complimented him on the immortality that the monument would ensure for him. (Crichton, "Memoirs," p. 63.)

Crichton, whose naïve vanity is everywhere apparent in his "Memoirs," may have over-rated the Duke of Hamilton's interest in the matter, but his friends' parody on the epitaph (feeble as it is) at least indicates the Cavalier point of view with regard to those Covenanting epitaphs which a more credulous generation has sometimes taken literally.

² Somers' Tracts, vol. x., p. 272, note.

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surprising as it may seem, the Stuart tyranny did not lack defenders, who managed to make out, with a very fair show of reason, that "if men may run to arms upon every occasion, the political world would quickly tumble into the original chaos."¹ If the Covenanters' delusions had been purely speculative, and had not prompted them to try and overturn the Government, they might, says a contemporary, have lived in Scotland as peaceably as any other Dissenters; but, as their religion impelled them to "range up and down the country like as many wild beasts, threatening destruction to the State and all its ministers, declaring it lawful to murder all such as had any hand in the government,"² what governors could be expected to "look on and suffer their own throats to be cut, their king dethroned, their Church pulled down, and their whole scheme of government to be annihilated?"

It was impossible to argue with the fanatics, continues the Episcopal apologist, "because they take it for granted that their way is the only true religion,"³ and it is easier to "reason a Bedlamite out of his fancied humours and principalities" than to persuade any of these deluded people "that they may be in error."⁴ Cromwell in the previous generation had vainly adjured the Caledonian "godly" to believe it possible they might be mistaken; and a perusal of the Covenanting sermons, letters and declarations of Claverhouse's day will show the force of the pamphleteer's remark that the preachers infused into the minds of their hearers "sordid and low notions of the high and eternal God," whom they represented as "a severe and unmerciful Being." "They not only force their followers into despair, but likewise encourage them in direct impieties, by telling them that if they be among the number of the Elect they may be guilty of the

¹ "An Apology for the Clergy, etc.," p. 21, 1693.

² P. 24, "Some Remarks upon a late pamphlet." London, 1694.

³ Even in our own day, their point of view finds occasional supporters; Mr Andrew Lang points out ("Hist. of Scot.," iii., p. 339) that so lately as "the year of grace 1903" the Rev. Alexander Smellie wrote of the men who spent three-quarters of an hour wreaking their vengeance on the dead body of Archbishop Sharpe, "Who can deny that they knew the secret of our Lord?" Mr Lang pertinently remarks that "against such a conception of 'the secret of our Lord' criticism is powerless."

⁴ "An Apology for the Clergy," p. 12.

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greatest sins without hazarding their salvation," and they allow "no liberty of conscience to any that dissent from them."¹

In considering the events of this unpleasant period, it must always be borne in mind that there were a great many peaceable Presbyterians in Scotland, though their continued existence on earth was resented by their more zealous brethren. Walker, in his vindication of Cameron, characteristically refers to them as men "who had sinned away Zeal and Faithfulness by wallowing in the Sink and Puddle of our National Abominations of Indulgences and Toleration"²; and this may be taken as typical of the fanatical attitude with regard to all who had any leaning towards moderation. One of the most fearless of the moderate Presbyterians was the Curate of Carsphairn, who imparted to his congregation the unwelcome truth that rebellion, murder and execration were contrary to Christian teaching. Such "heresy and profaness," would have been hard for the "elect" to forgive; and the Curate's offence was the more flagrant when he added that the Catholics, though subject to very great oppression, endured their trials with much greater patience than the Presbyterians, and remained loyal subjects in spite of all they suffered.

That a sect which rejected even the Lord's Prayer, the doxology, the Apostles' Creed, and the celebration of Christmas, as relics of Popery, should have resented this daring laudation of the abhorred Papists is easy of comprehension, and, considering the principles inculcated in Renwick's declaration, it is not surprising that the Curate paid for his boldness with his life. He was murdered at midnight

¹ "Letter to a Friend, giving an account of all the Treatises that have been published with Relation to the Present Persecution against the Church of Scotland." London, 1692.

Some of the Covenanting preachers declared that to hear an Episcopal minister was a worse offence against heaven than to break the seventh commandment, which indeed was never so often broken in Scotland as during those years when the Covenanters were triumphant. (See Vilant's "Review and Examination of Brown's History of the Indulgence," pp. 484, 518, 552, 527, 528; "Charles II. and Scotland in 1650," p. 136. See also Turner's "Memoirs," p. 160, and Nicoll's "Diary," pp. 59-60, 202.)

² "Biog. Pres.," vol. i., p. 224.

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(December the 11th, or early morning of December the 12th) on his own threshold, by a gang of zealots under the leadership of Robert Mitchell, nephew of the Mitchell who had attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharpe.

A week later over a hundred of the Covenanters gathered together at Kirkcudbright ("the most irregular place in the kingdom," as Claverhouse had called it¹), and there they killed the sentry who challenged them, broke open the gaol, set some of the prisoners at liberty, and marched off in triumph.

On the 20th of the same month (December 1684) Fountainhall notes that the Council received letters from Claverhouse stating that he had pursued some "rogues" who "skulked in the mountains," and had killed five and taken three prisoners, some of whom were "of the murderers of the Minister of Carsphairn ; and that he was to judge and execute these three prisoners² by his justiciary power ; and if his garrisons were once placed he hoped to secure and quiet the country."

At the end of this year began the quarrel between Queensberry and Claverhouse which at the time called forth so much comment, and is still of interest for the light it throws on Claverhouse's character. Queensberry—like the Tissaphernes of Raleigh's "History"—was "a very honourable man if honour be judged by greatness and place in Court," and it was customary for every other politician to bow down before him ; but Claverhouse, who put the interests of the service before the interests of any private friend or public magnate, was bound sooner or later to clash with a man of this type. It happened that at the Privy Council on December the 11th, 1684, some common soldiers, late of the King's Regiment of Foot,³ sent in a bill of complaint against their Colonel, James Douglas, Queensberry's brother, stating that he had dismissed

¹ Claverhouse to Queensberry, April 21, 1679. Napier, vol. ii., 202.

² See Act IV. of Charles II.'s second Parliament ; such as assault the lives of Ministers or rob their houses, or actually attempt the same, are to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. (Mackenzie's "Observations on the Acts of Parliament," p. 436.)

³ Now Scots Guards. Douglas obtained the command in 1684, in place of the Earl of Linlithgow.

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them arbitrarily, and "taken the arrears of their pay, and clothed and shod some of the rest of the soldiers therewith." Fountainhall relates how Claverhouse supported the complaint, and said it would

"discourage any to enter into His Majesty's service if they were used thus. The High Treasurer [Queensberry] resented this, and said none would doubt but his brother knew his duty ; and they had gotten coats at their entry for nothing, and so should pay for them. Thus grew the difference between Claverhouse and the Treasurer."¹

To understand the full significance of Claverhouse's protest, it must be remembered the colonel of a regiment was then entirely responsible for the clothing of his men. He made his own bargain direct with the manufacturers,² and the expenses for the soldiers' "liveries," as they were called, were ultimately refunded to him by the Government. That is to say, they were refunded in theory ; actually, however, the sum allowed—a slight deduction from the soldiers' pay—was so small as to be merely nominal, and such colonels as were both scrupulous financially and zealous for the smart appearance of their regiments had no choice but to supplement the Government allowance from their private means. Such an expedient, it may be divined, did not commend itself to the average regimental officer, especially as his own pay was usually in arrears ; and therefore what too often happened was that a colonel, instead of being thus out of pocket, actually made money by taking commissions from the contractors, or, like Colonel Douglas, by holding back a large part of the pay due to the hapless private soldier.³ That

¹ Fountainhall, "Chronological Notes," p. 112.

² There were cloth manufactories at Newmilns in Haddingtonshire, at Leith and at Selkirk ; but the demand exceeded the supply, and Claverhouse apparently was in the habit of importing cloth from England. He wrote to Queensberry (September 13, 1683) : "Your Lordship may remember I got licence to import red cloth for my troop ; and so much grey cloth for the trumpeters and kettledrummers." The grey cloth not being the right colour he asks leave to have it sent back to England and changed. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, Part VIII., p. 284.)

³ For this and kindred abuses see Fortescue, "Hist. of the British Army," vol. i., p. 321. It must be remembered that these financial rascalities were in the first place largely due to Parliament voting insufficient sums for the maintenance of the army.

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Claverhouse, always zealous for the real interests of the King and the efficiency of the army, should have seen the iniquity of such a system, is scarcely surprising, but his vigorous protest is one of many proofs of his rare moral courage. To censure a condition of affairs by which the colonels of the various regiments—if not too honest—could so easily supplement their incomes was, as he must have been extremely well aware, a certain way of rousing up against himself such animosity and rancour as would be difficult to fight; and when he dared to criticise a member of the mighty house of Douglas, he must have known he would make a dangerous enemy. His arguing with the Lord High Treasurer Queensberry was taken as a proof of his “insufferable conceit and vanity”; and even his friend and patron James, Duke of York, though anxious enough in other respects for army reform, accepted Queensberry’s complaints without question, and wrote to him in reply, “I am sorry to hear that Claverhouse was so little master of himself the other day in Council.”¹

It was this affair which, as Fountainhall expresses it, “begot the dryness betwixt Claverhouse and the High Treasurer”²; a “dryness” which was to have far-reaching consequences, for Queensberry was in a position to make his resentment very quickly felt.

Fountainhall relates that at the beginning of the following year the

“handful of fanatic rebels left in the West turning very insolent, the High Treasurer to put a rub on Claverhouse, who had been lately there in December last and could not wholly suppress them, caused his brother Colonel James Douglas select out of his whole regiment two hundred of his prettiest men, and by order of the Privy Council send them against these rogues that the glory of defeating them might fall to his share,”

and not to the credit of Claverhouse.³

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 212. H.R.H. spells the offender’s name “Clavross.”

² Fountainhall, “Chronological Notes,” p. 112.

³ Fountainhall, “Historical Observes,” p. 146.

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Some weeks later Queensberry demanded that Claverhouse should discharge a bond he had given to the Exchequer for fines due from the delinquents in Galloway. Claverhouse replied that his brother was gathering them in, and craved time. On being offered five or six days, he said that considering the distance this was equal to offering him no time at all. Whereupon the Treasurer said, "Then you shall have none."¹

How the Sheriff of Galloway replied to this manifestation of temper on the part of the man whose dukedom had been created at his suggestion we have unfortunately no record; but, from Queensberry's subsequent thirst for vengeance, it may be assumed that Claverhouse's sarcastic wit had touched some tender spot.

The death of Charles II. followed closely on these events; and it might have been expected that the Colonel of the Scottish Horse, who had been on even more friendly terms with the Duke of York than with King Charles, would on the Duke's accession to the throne be high in favour; but Queensberry, who on the news of King Charles's death had travelled south post-haste to pay his court to James, then took the opportunity to make renewed complaints against his former friend. Accordingly Fountainhall on April the 9th (1685) notes that Claverhouse's name had been omitted from the new list of Privy Councillors, "because of the discords we have formerly remarked between him and the High Treasurer and his brother. The pretence was that having married into the Lord Dundonald's fanatic family it was not safe to commit the King's secrets to him."²

No enemy knows so well as a friend where to strike. At the time when the alliance in question had provoked so much malicious comment, it was to Queensberry that the prospective bridegroom had expressed his scorn of those who knew him so little as to think that any personal interests ever

¹ Fountainhall, "Historical Notices," March 2, 1685.

² Fountainhall, "Decisions," vol. i., p. 360. He says elsewhere that Queensberry had taken "some disgust at Claverhouse for his not being so active against the Whigs as he ought (they having killed two men, and made one Mr Shaw, a minister, swear never to preach under bishops)." ("Chronological Notes," p. 43.)

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could distract him from his duty to the Church and State, and Queensberry above all men must have known that neither "love nor any other folly" could alter his loyalty. It would seem however that the ducal vanity was piqued by Claverhouse's independence, and that as his Grace aimed at securing for his brother the rank of Lieutenant-General, he seized eagerly on the only possible pretext for damaging the reputation of so formidable a rival as Claverhouse.¹

Claverhouse had too marked an individuality to be destitute of enemies, and they now made ready to rejoice over his approaching downfall. The Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Moray,² writing to Queensberry from Whitehall (April the 4th, 1685), describes how the King had told him that "though he put Claverhouse off the Council, to show him and others that he would support his ministers," yet he wished a letter to be written to him saying that if he would apologise to Queensberry he should be restored "to his place and favour." This by no means would have suited Queensberry, so Moray took upon himself to declare to his Majesty that such a message was "unfit" for him to send. The King suggested that if Moray did not care to write the letter Lord Middleton could write it instead.

This implied reproof by no means discouraged Moray: "I told him he knew Claverhouse to be of a high, proud and peremptory humour, and if such a letter were written to him he would conclude that what the King had done was not his own choice but extorted by importunity."

This was indeed the case, but it is somewhat amusing to observe the way Moray turns it to account; such an idea, he says, would "blow up" Claverhouse's "humour to a greater height of insolence than ever. Besides that he would certainly talk of it with intolerable conceit and vanity," which would be "a greater rub" for Queensberry and his party "than scraping his name out of the commission of Council

¹ Queensberry was much afraid that his evident animus against Claverhouse would be traced to pique; and accordingly both he and his emissaries walked very warily in the matter. (See Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., p. 207.)

² Alexander, fourth Earl, great-grandson of the Regent Moray.

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could be to Claverhouse. A great deal more I said, which I need not trouble your Grace with ; but at last the King was convinced I was in the right.”¹

It is much to be regretted that Moray did not “trouble” Queensberry with a further account of the arguments which “at last” convinced the King ; the disclosure of his methods is interesting, and bears out the remark of James’s friend Lord Ailesbury that ministers of State “love none but those that are to them like spaniel dogs.” That there was nothing of the spaniel in Claverhouse’s disposition, his many enemies bear frequent and angry witness. His daring to back the complaint of the friendless and ill-used soldiers against the omnipotent Douglas was “not approved of by any” and seems to have created a general scandal. For many months Claverhouse was “much blamed,” and his detractors took pleasure in the thought that he must inevitably ruin himself by his temerity. Friends and enemies alike appear to have been surprised at what they regarded as his singular folly in refusing to abase himself before the ruling power of Queensberry.²

Whether Claverhouse was aware of Lord Moray’s enmity we have no means of knowing, but Moray being Secretary of State for Scotland, it was to him he was obliged in etiquette to write, and to the other Secretary, Lord Middleton, to apply for the King’s leave to come to Court and state his case. Moray however, in communicating to King James this natural request, hastened to remark that Claverhouse, although he had been turned out of the Council as a mark of the King’s displeasure, had as yet made no apology to Queensberry, “which,” says Moray, “I hoped his Majesty looked upon as a high aggravation of his former insolence.”

The King allowed himself to be persuaded that Claverhouse—having been indiscreet and insubordinate—“deserved further punishment,” and that his coming to Court could

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., p. 48.

² “I am really sorry at Claverhouse’s carriage. . . . But if he will play the fool he must drink as he brews.” Melfort to Queensberry. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., pp. 218, 200-202.)

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“only serve to make a noise” and “create trouble,” and should by no means be allowed.¹ The outcome of this was an official letter to Claverhouse from Moray :

“I had yours of the 11th, and acquainted the King with your desire of leave to come up, and am commanded to return you this answer : that when you have made your application to his Commissioner, and by his favourable representation are restored to your place in Council, his Majesty will allow you to come up ; but by no means before.”²

Moray believed that Claverhouse if he saw the King would easily be “able to justify himself,”³ and he was therefore much alarmed on hearing rumours that Claverhouse was in town. “Some said confidently they had seen his servant on the Exchange, others that they saw himself in a coach”⁴ ; but in reality he had never left Scotland, and the stage therefore remained clear for Moray to say what he pleased against the absent. It seemed as though Claverhouse, after successfully opposing the Dalrymples, was to break himself against the rock of Queensberry’s power. His commission as Sheriff of Wigtown had ceased when Charles II. died ; it had not been renewed by James⁵ ; and to Colonel Douglas was given jurisdiction over Claverhouse’s special district, the Southern and Western shires.

The New Privy Councillor appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Claverhouse’s dismissal was that fat, fair and foolish personage, Prince George of Denmark, of whom Charles II. had said, after testing him both “drunk and sober,” that there was “nothing in him.”

On April the 16th, 1685, Fountainhall notes the making

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., pp. 53, 54.

² *Ibid.* p. 54. Moray adds polite but mendacious assurance of his own “kind inclinations” towards Claverhouse, whose “friend and well-wisher” he professes to be.

³ The Earl of Dumbarton to Queensberry. Napier, vol. iii., p. 440.

⁴ Moray to Queensberry. *Ibid.* p. 441.

⁵ See Claverhouse to Queensberry, p. 150 *ante*.

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of an Act of Council "in odium" of Claverhouse, "to stir up the people to complain of him."¹

While Queensberry in Scotland was trying his utmost to break Claverhouse's pride, Moray in England was continuing to waylay the King on every possible occasion, that he might keep alive the royal displeasure. On May the 2nd, 1685, he wrote to Queensberry that he had had "a very free conference with the King," who said that though Claverhouse at his command "had applied to Queensberry,"² in the Chancellor's presence, Queensberry had not informed him of the fact. Moray replied that as Claverhouse's apology "was as bad and rather worse" than if he had not apologised at all, it ought still be required of him to make "some signal acknowledgment" of his offence. The King—perhaps beginning to see that Moray's motives were far from disinterested—did not seem pleased with this suggestion, but "walked up and down a great while silent," and then said he would consider the matter.³

On April the 16th, the same day as he had bidden Claverhouse be reconciled to Queensberry, in view of Argyll's expected hostile descent on Scotland he decided to promote both Claverhouse and Douglas to the rank of Brigadiers, and he bade Moray say that he would send their commissions to Queensberry "to be made use of in case of any rebellion, but not otherwise."⁴

On May the 20th (1685) Argyll landed at Campbelltown, and, in the name of the nobility, gentry and people of Scotland, published a declaration pointing out as an illustrious precedent the success of the war against Charles I., asserting the loyalty

¹ "Chronological Notes," p. 128. Had Claverhouse been the savage that Whig tradition paints him, presumably his enemies would have been able to make good use of this opportunity "to complain of him," but the majority of complaints were postponed until the next century.

² On April 16, 1685, Lord Melfort wrote to Queensberry from London: "The King, having notice that Claverhouse has not been to pay that civility that was fit, has by this post ordered him to do it, so concerned is he to have that matter at an end to your Grace's satisfaction." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., p. 220.)

³ Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., p. 61.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 68.

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of the Covenanters—to fight against the King for the King's own good being a time-honoured phrase among the enemies of the monarchy—condemning the Parliament for having abolished the laws made during the Civil War, and also for conniving at Popery, and for keeping up a standing army, this last being an especial grievance.¹ In consequence of this and other offences of the governing powers, Argyll and his followers announced that they disowned the authority of the tyrant James, Duke of York (whom they would not acknowledge as King), and they declared themselves pledged to the extirpation of Catholicism.²

In time of trouble it became necessary to make use of Claverhouse; so on May the 23rd (1685) his “affectionate friends and servants,” Queensberry, Perth, Dumbarton, and Tarbat, signed an official letter bidding him state what he would judge expedient in this crisis, and write his suggestions to the Earl of Dumbarton, the new Commander-in-Chief. The same letter curtly announced, “The King has sent commissions to Colonel Douglas and you as Brigadiers, both of Horse and Foot. Douglas's is prior in date.”³

The manner in which this priority was secured for Douglas does not reflect credit on the King's firmness or judgment. The Chancellor's brother, Lord Melfort,⁴ announced to Moray that the King had ordered him to make out a commission for Claverhouse as Brigadier of Horse and one for Douglas as Brigadier of Foot, and Moray writing about it to Queensberry says, “I told him that could not be, for by that means Claverhouse would command your brother.”⁵ They were “very hot on the matter”; Melfort,

¹ See Chapter I. *ante.*, pp. 32, 33.

² Clarke, vol. ii., p. 20.

³ “Duntrune Papers” (Napier, vol. iii., pp. 460, 461) and Bann. Club “Letters,” pp. 95, 96.

⁴ Drummond of Lundin, brother of the Earl of Perth, was created Viscount Melfort, April 14, 1685, and Earl of Melfort, August 1686.

⁵ This is printed in the Hist. MSS. Comm. Report: “By that means Claverous would command your brother to be shott. We were very hot on the matter.” (Buccleuch and Queensberry MSS., vol. ii., p. 69.) Napier reads it “by that means Claverhouse would command your brother. To be short we were very hot, etc.” (vol. ii., p. 464).

The point is not of great importance, but it seems improbable that Moray could

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seemingly somewhat weary of the supremacy of the Douglas family, bluntly said he knew no reason why Colonel Douglas should have the precedency, except that he was Queensberry's brother.

Moray, nothing abashed, said that this was reason enough, and then added that Douglas was "an officer of more experience and conduct." Melfort retorted that Claverhouse had served the King longer in Scotland, whereon Moray "flung from him, and went straight to the King and represented the case." Melfort followed; "but the King changed his mind," and the commission for Douglas was made two days prior in date to Claverhouse's, "by which," writes Moray to Queensberry, Douglas's command "is clear before the other. I saw the commissions signed this afternoon, and they are sent herewith. . . . Now, I beseech your Grace, say nothing of this."¹

A transaction of this kind enables us to understand the justice of Fountainhall's complaint,

"Though we change the Governors yet we find no change in the arbitrary Government. For we are brought to that pass we must depend and court the Chancellor, Treasurer, and a few other great men and their servants, else we shall have difficulty to get either justice or despatch in our actions, or to save ourselves from scaith."

The King had promised Moray that he would consider Queensberry's grievances against Claverhouse. His consideration, however, resulted in his informing Moray that he had "positively resolved" to restore Claverhouse to his place in the Council,² and accordingly, on May the 11th, Moray was obliged to countersign a royal letter which announced that in virtue of Claverhouse's "loyalty and abilities" it was the King's pleasure that he should be received once more into the

seriously suppose that Claverhouse would or could order Douglas to be shot, and therefore Napier's deciphering of Moray's handwriting seems in this case the easiest of credence.

¹ Moray to Queensberry, May 18, 1685. Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., p. 69.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Buccleuch and Queensberry, vol. ii., pp. 64, 65.

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Privy Council "in the ordinary form and manner."¹ This letter was not read to the Council till June the 20th, and it was not till July the 16th that Claverhouse, after taking the necessary oaths, was reinstated in his former place.² The delay was caused by his having been entrusted with the duty of guarding the Borders and preventing communication between Argyll's Scottish partisans and those of Monmouth in England.³

On June the 15th Claverhouse writes from Johnstone in Annandale to the Laird of Lag (Sir Robert Grierson, Steward of Kircudbright⁴), bidding him keep in constant communication with Lord Home at Minigaff, and also co-operate with "Sir Robert Douglas at the Newtown with the Teviotdale Regiment."⁵ "My Lord Kenmuir," he says, "is to do the like, and all things relating to the King's service are to be carried on conjointly by you three; so for God's cause lay aside all humours and animosities if there be any among you, and unite yourselves frankly in the King's service."⁶

Claverhouse's headquarters seem to have been at Selkirk,⁷ but his official letters to Queensberry show his progress through Ayr, Dalmellington, Kirkconnel, Sanquhar and Johnstone in Annandale, to Thorleshope, whence is dated the last of his letters to Queensberry (July the 3rd, 1685).⁸ By

¹ Privy Council Register. Napier, vol. iii., p. 443.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 21. On June 26, at midnight, the King sent a flying packet from Whitehall to Edinburgh summoning to England ten companies of Scottish Foot, four troops of Horse and two of Dragoons, the Horse to be commanded by Claverhouse. The Privy Council protested urgently against withdrawing these troops from Scotland, and the project was abandoned.

⁴ The "Redgauntlet" of Wandering Willie's Tale.

⁵ Of Militia.

⁶ This letter is supplemented by a hurried postscript, "There is no news here. Some stragglers over the Border. Look to yourself"; and is inscribed "For His Majesty's Service. Haste, haste," and sealed with Claverhouse's coat-of-arms. (Grierson MSS.)

⁷ Fountainhall, "Historical Observes," p. 165.

⁸ Queensberry apparently kept up his huff with Claverhouse, for on June 16 Claverhouse writes to him, "I am very sorry that anything I have done should have given your Grace reason to be dissatisfied with me, and to make complaints against me to the Earl of Dumbarton. I am convinced your Grace is ill-informed, for after you have read what I wrote to you two days ago on the subject, I dare say I may refer myself to your own censure [*i.e.* judgment]. However, I am glad I have received my Lord

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this time the country was quiet once more. Argyll had been beheaded on June the 30th,¹ and Monmouth was to expiate his folly with his life on July the 15th.

On the 16th of July, Claverhouse resumed his place in the Privy Council. The beginning of December found him in London, at Court once again, his actions entirely justified and his prestige high as ever.² His enemies had been premature in their jubilation over his ruin, and no doubt their error became clearly manifest when, at the end of the year, a royal letter arrived from King James to the Treasury, announcing that the regiment of Colonel Grahame of Claverhouse was henceforth "to be Our Own Regiment of Horse, and to have rank and precedence accordingly,"³ and the trumpeters of the

Dumbarton's orders anent your Grace's tenants which I shall most punctually obey, though I may say they were as safe as any in Scotland before." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 15, App. VIII., p. 293.)

¹ A modern fiction has it that Argyll on being captured and brought into Edinburgh was forced to submit to the same indignities as his father had heaped upon Montrose. In reality, however, his arrival in Edinburgh "was ordered to be so late [at night] that he might be little seen or gazed upon by the mob." He was beheaded on June 30, having "all the civilities imaginable put on him" on the scaffold. (Fountainhall, "Chronological Notes," pp. 53, 54.) He made a long and edifying speech, concluding with the assurance that his enemies would find their position reversed in the next world. "When I shall be singing," said he, "they shall be howling." (Mackenzie's "Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.")

² Lord Perth wrote to the Duke of Hamilton from London, December 10, 1685, "What grates his [Queensberry's] soul the most is that Claverhouse has got back that money he caused him pay when in the height of his pique." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 11, Part VI., p. 169.) Fountainhall notes that "To load the High Treasurer [Queensberry], Claverhouse and Balcarres were sent for to London and the King was so ill-satisfied with what the Treasurer had exacted of Claverhouse that he ordained the Treasurer to repay it." ("Historical Observes," p. 240.)

³ Royal letter dated December 21, 1685 (Ross's "Old Scottish Regimental Colours," p. 34, note). The regiment thus honoured has no representative in the British Army of to-day; Claverhouse was its first and last Colonel. When King James's army was disbanded at the Revolution the King's Own Regiment of Horse was scattered, and its name crossed off the Establishment. Forty or fifty men of Claverhouse's special troop (which had been raised for him in 1678) remained faithful to their Colonel, and made a gallant charge with him at Killiecrankie. After his death the survivors of the troop fled to France, and there formed part of that Scots Brigade of exiles which was so justly famous for its dauntless courage. The emphasising of these details needs no apology, for Claverhouse's regiment of Horse has been so frequently confounded with the equally famous Scots Dragoons, that even the Hon. John Fortescue, in his admirable "History of the British Army," falls into the time-honoured error of supposing the Scots Greys to be the modern representative of Claverhouse's regiment.

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several troops and the Kettle Drums of that Regiment to be for the future in our own livery."¹

Thus complimented by the King, Claverhouse travelled back to Scotland with the Chancellor Perth and Lord Balcarres, and arrived in Edinburgh on Christmas Eve.² After having come successfully through the second crisis in his public career, he indulged in a long interval of comparative privacy at Dudhope. There was no further necessity for him to expend his energy in subduing the South-West, for the failure of Argyll's attempted rebellion had to some extent brought home to the disaffected the futility of striving to reduce the world to their way of thinking. Burnet—on whose "love to Presbytery and hatred to the Church of England" Swift has made caustic comment—would have us believe that "the Presbyterians seemed reconcilable to the church," and that "they loved episcopal ordination and a liturgy,"³ and upon some amendments seemed disposed to come into the church"⁴; but Wodrow assures his readers that zealous Presbyterians then looked upon the Episcopal service as "polluted with a mixture of man's muddy inventions, with mimic gesticulations and superstitious cantings"⁵; and however little Wodrow could judge of the point of view of the King's friends, he at least was thoroughly conversant with the theological tenets of the extremists among his own party.

Renwick, denounced by his brethren as "the great cause and occasion of all the troubles of the country," but now celebrated as the last of the Covenanting martyrs, remained at large till February 1688, when he was brought to trial by

¹ "While drums were common to all regiments, trumpets were peculiar to the Cavalry. Every horse regiment had, besides its trumpeters, one kettle-drummer. . . . Drummers and trumpeters wore the royal cypher embroidered on back and breast. As a rule the rich and expensive coats and trumpet-banners of kettle-drummers and trumpeters were supplied by the officers." (Sir George Arthur, "Story of the Household Cavalry," vol. i., p. 40.)

² Fountainhall, "Chronological Notes," p. 154. Claverhouse apparently remained in Scotland until eighteen months later, when he again went to Court with Lord Balcarres. (June 27, 1687. Fountainhall, "Chronological Notes," p. 217.)

³ Characteristic marginal note by Dean Swift "A damnable lie." (Scott's ed. of Swift's Works, vol. xii., p. 219.)

⁴ "Own Time," vol. iii., p. 161, ed. 1833.

⁵ Wodrow's "History," vol. i., p. 125.

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the Dalrymple administration, and, as one of his modern admirers phrases it, "cut off in the prime of life and the midst of usefulness."¹ Claverhouse was one of the witnesses called against him. His death has been the theme of much expostulation from sentimental commentators; but in the days when people were burnt for suspicion of witchcraft, hanged for theft, and legally liable to be put to death for the mere fact of being gypsies, it is scarcely surprising that the Scottish criminal code forbade the pardon of a man who had for many years been one of the chief promoters of a dangerous armed rebellion. The remnant of his fanatical followers abated nothing of their hatred of the "Malignants" but for lack of a leader their power declined, and their views—though even now not quite extinct in Galloway—have long since ceased to be a practical factor in Scottish politics.

¹ Aikman's "Annals of the Persecution," p. 553.

The Revolution

1688-1689

Grahame of Claverhouse, whose cruelties in the persecution of the Western Covenanters had been rewarded by a high command in the Scotch army, and the title of Viscount Dundee, etc., etc. — J. R. GREEN, History of the English People.

He was the best man in Scotland.
—DEAN SWIFT (marginal note in BURNET'S *Own Time*).

Chapter VI: The Revolution, 1688-1689

IN the palmy days of despotism a Spanish court fool inquired of his king, "If everyone said 'No' to your Majesty's commands, what would you do?" Tradition has not preserved the king's reply. To the royal mind the possibility may well have seemed too far away for contemplation, but in the career of James II. and VII. we shall see the bold hypothesis materialised into a stubborn fact.

At the beginning of his reign few, even among close observers, could have foretold that in a little over three years he would be flying from his kingdom into ignominious exile. To all appearance, after the stamping out of Monmouth's and Argyll's rebellions, James was more firmly established on the throne than any previous member of his family, more powerful than any English monarch since Elizabeth.

His "infinite industry, sedulity, gravity" and great "understanding and experience of affairs" were thought to promise "much happiness to the nation." Nothing more was wanting, noted the sober-minded Evelyn in his diary, than that his Majesty should be a Protestant. But even his "Popery" was no longer such a burning grievance as in the early days of his conversion. His numerous children by his second wife, the Catholic Princess Mary Beatrice of Modena, had all died in infancy, and thus, for lack of legitimate male offspring, his heir was now his eldest daughter Princess Mary of Orange, who, like her sister Princess Anne, had been

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brought up a rigid Protestant and married to a prince of the same faith.

The anti-papal fervour, which in the previous reign had been lashed into fury against James by personal enemies and angry politicians, had of late toned down into an attitude of passive aversion to his religion, tempered by decided liking for himself. His reputation as a soldier and a sportsman was of the kind which makes a strong appeal to Englishmen ; and his zeal in public matters, whether naval, military or commercial, formed a favourable contrast to the easy-going habits of his predecessor Charles, who, though possessed of intellect, ability and shrewdness of no common sort, was marred both as monarch and as man by the incorrigible moral indolence which made him always prone to take the line of least resistance.

With far less charm than Charles, James was a much more conscientious, strenuous and well-intentioned prince. Not only had he served in four campaigns under Turenne, but he had studied the military art with systematic industry and quite exceptional intelligence. His knowledge and experience of war by sea was also greatly to his credit, and his administrative powers were considerable. The excellence of his system at the Office of Ordnance is amply proved by the significant fact that not only did Marlborough re-establish it when subsequently he came into power, but even Wellington restored it once again. The Iron Duke, though not given to superlatives, spoke with emphasis of the forgotten merits of King James II. as a military administrator.

His Majesty's organisation of the Admiralty was likewise excellent, and—taking a keen pride and interest in the navy, which he fitly called “the strength and glory of his nation”—he was further zealous for the development of colonisation, enterprise, and commerce overseas.

At the beginning of his reign men tired of strife, and weary from the rancorous political entanglements of previous years, acclaimed with joy the advent of a prosperous and peaceful era. All this considered, it would have needed great political clairvoyance on King James's part to realise how

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insecure the ground on which the fabric of his power was built up.

Knowledge of character, quick sympathy with national feeling, intuitive discernment of the real facts underlying favourable appearances, such were the qualities for lack of which the last Stuart king *de facto* was to lose his throne. His downfall was accelerated by his singularly ill-judged choice of private friends and public servants ; Jeffries, Sunderland and Father Petre, Kirke and Melfort, each and all were to be instrumental in the ruin of the master they professed to love and honour.

Another factor in his overthrow was that, as he himself confessed, his "heart was French." To understand this we must remind ourselves that though hostility to France was in the English blood—a legacy from mediæval days of Poitiers and Agincourt—the Scottish nation had for many hundred years been friends of France ; and that to James, a Scotsman and a Stuart, half French by blood and almost wholly French by early education, an alliance with the *Grand Monarque* appeared both natural and politic. Its ultimate result upon his fortunes he could never for one moment have foreseen ; and such was the delusive calm and quiet towards the end of 1685 that we may doubt if even so astute a judge of character as Claverhouse could have suspected the approaching downfall of the ill-starred, ill-advised, ill-balanced, but well-meaning King.

From the quelling of Argyll's rebellion to the outbreak of the Revolution the "Persecutor's" career presents few striking features. His support of James's Toleration Act and his promotion to the rank of Major-General of all the Scottish Horse may here be mentioned. As a Privy Councillor he took his share of Scottish public business ; and he kept in touch with England and the English court. At home he did not scorn to take an interest in municipal affairs ; and by adding (in March 1688) the office of Provost of Dundee to his judicial power as Constable, he became absolute in local government. But administering the small concerns of a provincial town is not exhilarating work for an ambitious man whose talent and capacities are suited to a wider stage.

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Therefore, instead of lingering over this phase of Claverhouse's life, we pass on and recall the series of national events up to the crisis which was at last to give him his brief opportunity to show his genius as a General.

The Scottish Parliamentary session of 1686 opened with a letter from the King in which he expressed his zeal for the interests of Caledonian commerce and prosperity, in proof whereof he offered his Commissioners a permit to establish regulations for the opening of free trade with England.¹ He then stated his urgent wish that in return for his good-will his Protestant subjects should no longer debar their Catholic brethren from the protection of the laws.

The political condition of the Catholics was miserable in the extreme; and whereas the Covenanting Dissenters had been punished for their revolutionary notions, not for spiritual heresies, the Catholics were persecuted for their faith despite the loyalty which they had shown on more than one conspicuous occasion. The Penal Laws against them were of a savage severity. No priest might say Mass under pain of 200 marks fine and a year's imprisonment; to hear Mass was equally punishable; the Crown could seize half the goods and two-thirds of the lands of such "Popish offenders as did not after being convicted of Popery pay into the Exchequer £20 a month." To know of a Jesuit's presence in the kingdom and not betray him to the Government was punishable by fine and imprisonment. It was forbidden to bring into England "any agnus dei, crosses, pictures, beads, or any such vain and superstitious thing," and the fine for possessing "The Lives of the Saints" was forty shillings for each volume. No "Popish Recusant" was allowed to practise "the common law, civil law, physic, or the art of the apothecary; or be an officer in any court, or bear any office among soldiers, or in a ship, castle, or fortress, on pain of £100 [fine], to be divided between the King and the prosecutor." Any Catholic priest remaining

¹ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. viii., p. 579.

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in the kingdom was to be adjudged a traitor and a felon "without benefit of clergy."¹

That James, a zealous convert to Catholicism, should have striven to ameliorate the harshness of the laws against his co-religionists was logical enough, and in the existing state of popular opinion his measures showed either considerable courage or uncommon want of insight into public prejudice. Eventually his feelings were to run away with him, his firmness was to sink into blind obstinacy, and his religious enthusiasm, hardened by opposition, was to stiffen into rigid bigotry—excusable perhaps, but from a politic and worldly standpoint suicidal. At first, however, he expressed himself with studied moderation, and his letter to the Scottish Parliament makes dignified and eminently reasonable protest against existing anti-Catholic oppression.

"We have sent down to be passed in your presence, our full and ample Indemnity for all crimes committed against our royal person or authority. And whilst we show these acts of mercy to the enemies of our person, Crown and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic Religion, who have with the hazard of their lives and fortunes been always assistant to the Crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named. Them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end that as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so by your assistance they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our Government which others of our subjects have."²

But to allow the Papists civil or religious liberty was contrary to the Caledonian conscience whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian, and it scarcely needed the machinations of the violent Protestants in London, of the Scottish refugees in

¹ "An Abstract of all the Penal Laws now in force against Jesuits, Priests and Popish Recusants. Collected for the ease of Justices of the Peace." London, 1678.

² Acts Parl. Scot., vol. viii., pp. 579, 580.

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Holland, and of the emissaries of William, Prince of Orange, to rouse up again in Scotland a marked increase of the popular distrust of Popery. Fountainhall, though looking upon Catholicism and idolatry as synonymous, dryly remarks that at this time "God raised up men to appear for the Protestant interest who were not very strict in any religion."¹ The anti-papal fervour in all ranks was so violent that James, instead of taking warning, was stirred to anger, and he regretted having humbled himself to request as a favour from his unconciliatory subjects that which he believed himself entitled to demand as a right.² After ordering the Council to authorise Catholic Worship in private houses, and to allow the admission of certain Catholic individuals to offices of State, he in two successive proclamations announced that as he would not himself tyrannise over the conscience of any man, neither would he suffer any man to tyrannise over the consciences of others. His proclamation, dated from Whitehall, April the 4th, 1687, set forth how it "hath of long time been our constant desire" that force should not be used in matters of religion. Religious persecution he characterised as contrary to "the interest of the Government which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers." Moreover, persecution had failed in its object, as the events of the four preceding reigns would clearly illustrate :

"for after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible. We, therefore . . . have thought fit, by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our royal Declaration of Indulgence."

He granted full toleration to Quakers, Catholics and all Nonconformists, and bade them worship as they pleased in

¹ "State Trials," vol. xi., p. 1175.

² The King decided to grant Liberty of Conscience "being fully convinced both by the judgment in Sir Edward Hales' case and the opinion of all the judges, except Mr Baron Street, that he might by virtue of his prerogative do it." (Clarke, vol. ii., p. 103.)

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houses and chapels, thus abolishing all excuse for the holding of field conventicles ; and he announced his intention of preserving to the bishops and clergy of the Established Church, their churches and property, while to laymen he confirmed the possession of abbey lands secularised at the Reformation. Finally he declared that he would employ men in his service according to their personal qualifications irrespective of their theological opinions.

The outcry in Scotland was tremendous when—as Walker phrases it—“this anti-Christian, intoxicating Toleration” was “brewed in Hell.”¹ The remnant of fanatics preferred field conventicles and their customary excitements to a concession shared with “bloody Papists” ; the sober Presbyterians also distrusted a toleration extended to “idolaters” ; the Episcopalians resented and feared the freedom given to Catholics and Covenanters, and all parties—except a small minority of Catholics and Quakers—were aroused to fervent indignation against a measure which was assuredly ill-suited to the spirit of the age. No one was more shocked than the King’s Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, whose horror of Popery was not one whit less violent than that of the majority of his contemporaries. Mackenzie, in airing his dislike of Papists, further expressed himself convinced that to ease the Covenanting Dissenters of those restrictions which the State had seen fit to impose on them would surely end in anarchy. The King, chagrined by such a pessimistic forecast, showed resentment, and Mackenzie resigned his post of Advocate. He was succeeded by an eminent Presbyterian, a member of a house notorious in loyalist annals for sedition and intrigue—to wit, Sir John Dalrymple, Claverhouse’s former adversary in Galloway, who subsequently was to offer the crown to the invading Prince of Orange.

Undoubtedly the first serious national opposition to James, who had hitherto been fairly well liked in Scotland, was caused by this attempt to bring in “Toleration.” The Episcopal Churchmen, who usually supported the throne, were so aghast at the idea of freedom being allowed to the

¹ “*Biographia Presbyteriana*,” vol. ii., p. 133.

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Covenanting zealots—"who had ever," as Balcarres told James, "lain at watch for the bringing down of the monarchy, and had cost your predecessors so much time, blood, and treasure to humble"—that even the "firmest and faithfulest" complied with the King's wishes "with an unwilling mind."¹

The Presbyterians openly declared that they owed no thanks to the King for a toleration which they regarded merely as an excuse to introduce Catholicism. "This spirit," says Balcarres, "was not a little heightened among them by their friends in England and their countrymen who had fled into Holland." These allies encouraged them to aim at supreme power in the Government, and revenge on their enemies, neither of which they could have hoped to accomplish had not James's Act of Toleration rallied them "from all parts of the world," especially from Holland, Dantzic and the West Indies, whence they poured into Scotland in large numbers, and at once lashed up again the very elements of civil strife which the King's Government had so long laboured to suppress. In these circumstances malcontents of every denomination became Presbyterians for the occasion, "as all the discontented of that nation have ever done, making religion the pretext to gain their ends."²

In England the repeal of the Penal Laws was equally unpopular; and the English Church, though tolerably decorous in its language, was none the less strenuously opposed to the measure.

From James's point of view the refusal of the clergy to read from their pulpits the reiterated Declaration of Liberty of Conscience was the more irritating as they came forward with their objections only at the eleventh hour.³

The King, convinced of the justice of his own purpose, and incapable of seeing the point of view of the Established Church, was increasingly angered by this opposition to his

¹ Lord Balcarres, "Memoirs," p. 3, ed. Bann. Club.

² *Ibid.* p. 4.

³ King James's "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 155, 156. The bishops allowed fourteen days to elapse after they received the King's order, and did not protest until thirty-six hours before the time appointed for reading the Declaration.

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will, and his wrath was encouraged by his Chancellor, Lord Jeffries, who maintained that to reprove the bishops was not enough ; they should be brought to trial.

From this time onwards the King may be compared to "a man that rode post over hedges and ditches, rocks and precipices, so that in a very little time he must either break his neck or come to his journey's end."¹

The trial of the seven bishops, their acquittal, and the consequent widespread rejoicings, are too familiar to require description ; but it should be remembered that the anti-Catholic fervour was at this time skilfully fanned by William, Prince of Orange, who recognised in it the most convenient pretext for invasion of England, an invasion which we have good reason to suppose he had been meditating ever since the death of Monmouth.

The birth of a Prince of Wales (on June the 10th, 1688), hailed by King James with rapture, was actually to prove the means of hastening his ruin. So long as the Princess Mary had been heiress to the throne the Protestant succession was assured, but on the birth of a son to be brought up in the detested Popish faith the national uneasiness increased to fever heat ; and in the agitated state of public feeling the rumour—started by Prince William's emissaries—that the infant was not the King's or Queen's own child met ready credence.

There is no need to break a lance for the legitimacy of the hapless "Old Pretender" ; seldom has any prince been born in circumstances of more glaring publicity, and the slanders circulated by the Revolution party are now recognised to have been as flagrantly mendacious as they were politically effective.²

¹ Echard, "Hist. of the Revolution," p. 86.

² When William of Orange came to England he brought with him 80,000 copies of a supposed "Memorial" from the English Protestants, asking him to come over and deliver them from imposture and Popery. This Memorial (according to the Comte d'Avaux) was known to have been composed by Dr Gilbert Burnet, but it served William's purpose quite as well as if it had been genuine. (Dumont, vii., Part II., pp. 179, 198. D'Avaux, October 28.)

It is printed in vol. x. of Somers' Tracts (pp. 22 to 65). After reading it one cannot but feel that the fact of such clumsy and ridiculous charges having any influence

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The Prince of Orange characteristically sent congratulations on the birth of the heir he had resolved to dispossess ; and James accepted these felicitations in good faith, and looked askance on all attempts to warn him of the fast-accumulating dangers which were so soon to break his nerve and drive him forth with ignominy into a banishment from which there would be no returning.

The Prince of Orange had spent the previous winter fitting out a fleet, laying in large stores of provisions, increasing his armaments, bluffing the Pope, cajoling the Emperor, and making alliances with the Spanish Netherlands, the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and several other German princes. Theoretically all these precautions were for defensive purposes alone ; the fleet, so he declared, was increased for protection of trade against those universal ocean scourges the Algerine corsairs. Thus, in the name of commerce, his Highness hired transports, laid in quantities of ammunition, and bought saddles, boots and bridles in alarming numbers. Trains of artillery were gathered together from the various towns, and in the seaports magazines of hay were slung in ropes, ready to be put on shipboard when required—all obviously to some special end.

Though every attempt was made by William to distract public attention from his operations, it could not be doubted that a military and naval project was in hand, especially when he requested the Netherlands Estates to engage 9000 able-bodied seamen and to increase the army by some 7000 mercenaries. King James assumed that France was the immediate object of his nephew's hostility ; and when Lord Dartmouth ventured to suggest that England was more probably the destination of this fleet and army, James disdained the notion and dubbed Dartmouth an alarmist.

Believing in his army, and certain of the loyalty and

on the nation would seem to justify a contemporary pamphleteer's statement that "as much as Englishmen have been famed for their hearts, they have been always reproached for their heads. They have always lost their wits by national intoxications." (Somers, vol. x., p. 524.)

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vigour of the senior service, confident Britannia ruled the waves, and that the monarchy had never, since the Tudor times, been more secure than at that moment, the King turned a deaf ear to all the admonitions of his friends, and let himself be fooled by Sunderland and other revolutionary peers who took his benefits and then unblushingly betrayed him to the Prince of Orange.¹

At last, about the middle of September, James received from Louis of France unmistakable tidings of the intended Dutch invasion. The shock must have been great; for with his habitual lack of judgment he had implicitly believed the diplomatic letters of the Prince of Orange and the constant reassurance of the Dutch Ambassador. These roseate illusions were now roughly shattered, and James at the eleventh hour set to work to counteract the ill-effects of his own over-confidence. He increased the army and the navy, called out the militia, sent for 6000 Scots and Irish troops, and distributed commissions broadcast among "Persons of Quality." These last accepted the commissions, raised the men, and—in some instances at least—wrote offering their services to the invader. James was recommended to imprison Lord Churchill and several other officers whose loyalty was open to suspicion; but he presumably had still a lingering affection for "Jack Churchill"—who had been his page-of-honour and his former friend—and he rejected this advice.

With the Caledonian and Hibernian troops he counted on making the army up to 40,000 men, which he felt sure was "a sufficient force to deal with the Prince of Orange"²—even supposing the Dutch forces should succeed in landing, which his Majesty took leave to doubt. This frame of mind was natural enough considering that in his youth he had beaten the Dutch at sea, and that he had every reason to believe

¹ It is interesting to remember that (according to the French Ambassador, Barillon) James's false friend Sunderland was secretly in the pay of Louis XIV., who granted him a pension of 60,000 livres per annum paid half-yearly in advance; and while he was persuading James that there was no possibility of invasion, he was providing for his own safety by sending William of Orange assurance of his "utmost services." (Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 238.)

² King James's Life. Macpherson, "Orig. Papers," vol. i., pp. 158, 159.

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in English sailors and in English arms. "Never had any Prince in his army so many men whom he had personally obliged"; and that his soldiers and sailors could be turned against him by their officers—officers who in many cases had professed to be among his closest friends—was a discovery that he had yet to make. "A vast number" of his regimental officers he had befriended to such a degree that "if they had had any sort of gratitude or sense of honour" they could not have been worked upon to fail him.¹

How few friends were left to him with feelings of attachment strong enough to face the stern test of adversity will shortly be perceived; and chief among that honourable minority stands Claverhouse, whom neither "love nor any other folly" could distract from that devoted loyalty which was his ruling passion.

Rumours of Prince William's projected invasion are likely to have reached Scotland early in the summer; but no decisive official steps could be taken as long as the King remained persistently incredulous of any ill intentions on the part of Holland. On September the 18th the militia was called out, and it was ordered by the Council that beacons must be prepared in readiness to be fired the moment foreign ships should come in sight "on the coasts of this kingdom."² On the 24th of the same month, a royal letter arrived commanding the standing army to make ready for "such further orders as we shall think fit to send"³; and this was followed by a second letter, countersigned by Melfort, announcing the hostile projects of the Prince of Orange, and ordering the entire forces, excepting only the garrisons of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton castles, to march to Carlisle and thence to Chester.⁴

Such a command amazed and horrified the loyal party. To leave Scotland at the mercy of the disaffected seemed so

¹ "Reasons why King James ran away etc." Lord Warrington's Collected Works, pp. 61, 62. This condemnation of the army from one who was himself "of an implacable spirit against the King" (Ailesbury, vol. i., p. 133) is most significant.

² Wodrow, vol. iv., p. 463.

³ Warrant Book, Scot., vol. xiii., fol. 243.

⁴ *Ibid.* 284.

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obviously foolish that the Secret Committee immediately sent an express to the King to point out to him how disastrous it would be to withdraw the standing army and leave the country unprotected. They offered to raise and pay a supplementary force of 15,000 men, recruited from amongst the Highlanders, the gentry and the Militia; and it was suggested that this army should march to the borders of Scotland—or at farthest to York—to secure Scotland against invasion over the Border, and to prevent any rebellion in the North of England. But, says Balcarres sadly, “instead of following this unanimous advice” of the Secret Committee and the King’s “best and wisest friends,” Lord Melfort—James’s evil genius—scribbled an order in the King’s name reiterating the command that all the regular forces should set out instantly for England. “The order,” writes Balcarres in his colloquial way, “was positive and short, advised by Mr James Stewart at a supper, and wrote upon the back of a plate, and an express immediately despatched therewith.”¹

There was nothing for it but to obey; and so the first week in October the entire Scottish army² set out, under the command of Lieutenant-General Douglas, Queensberry’s brother, with Claverhouse, the Major-General of the Horse, as Second-in-Command.

The Horse and Dragoons amounted only to 841 in all: Claverhouse’s Horse, Lord Livingstone’s troop of Life Guards and the Earl of Dunmore’s Dragoons (now Scots Greys³). There were two regiments of Foot, Douglas’s (now Scots Guards) and Colonel Thomas Buchan’s (now the Royal Scots Fusiliers), 1999 men; so that the army numbered under 3000.⁴ But the soldiers, as Balcarres testifies, were “vigorous, well-disciplined” and zealous for the King, “willing, out of

¹ “Memoirs,” ed. Bann. Club, pp. 11, 12. James Stewart of Goodtrees was the author of the notorious Covenanted work “Naphtali.” He had been implicated in the Rye House Plot and condemned to be hanged for treason on July 22, 1685. He was, however, pardoned, and lived to become Sir James, and Lord Advocate to William III.

² Except a small train of Artillery.

³ Formerly Dalzell’s Dragoons. Lord Dunmore (Lord Charles Murray) had been appointed to command the regiment after Dalzell’s death in August 1685.

⁴ Wauchope’s Foot is included by Dalton, but General Douglas refers to “two

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principle as well as duty, to hazard their lives for the support of the Government as then established both in Church and State.”¹

The progress of the force towards London is marked by letters from Douglas to the Duke of Queensberry. Arriving at Moffat on the night of October the 6th, the Lieutenant-General met an express from Carlisle bringing him royal commands to march to Preston and wait further orders.

He could not set out on the morning of the 8th, because his ammunition-train had not arrived and was not expected until nightfall. The next we hear of him is on October the 10th, when he writes from “Aleson Bank” that he had received perplexing contradictory orders, the King bidding him stay at Preston, and Lord Dumbarton sending him word to march with the Foot to York, whither he was bidden (in both orders seemingly) to send the Horse and Dragoons under Claverhouse. From Penrith next day (October the 11th)

regiments of Foot” in such a way as to make it seem that Wauchope’s was not among his forces. (Napier, vol iii., p. 476.) The numbers of the other regiments were as follows (Dalton, vol. ii., p. 120) :—

REGIMENTS	COMMANDER	QUARTERS	STRENGTH
Life Guards	Lord Livingstone	Westminster, Tower Hamlets and Minories	132
King’s Royal Regiment of Horse	Major-Gen. Grahame of Claverhouse	„	352
Royal Regiment of Dragoons	Earl of Dunmore	Southwark, Lambeth and Rotherhide	357
Foot Guards	Lieut.-Gen. Douglas	Precincts of Holborn	1251
Buchan’s Foot	Colonel Thomas Buchan	Spitalfields and Tower Hamlets	744
		Total	2836

¹ “Memoirs,” p. 12.

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he reports to his brother that he has "sent Major-General Grahame with the Horse to York" that morning.¹

Towards the end of October the Scottish army arrived in London,² and Claverhouse's cavalry were quartered at Westminster, the Tower Hamlets and the Minories.

On November the 5th the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay; and Claverhouse is said to have advised King James to attack the invader, or go to meet him and demand his business; or, if he would not do either, "to make his way into Scotland."³

It is vain to speculate what William of Orange would have replied if his father-in-law, meeting him in state at the head of a large army, had suavely inquired to what was he indebted for the honour of this visit; but it is worthy of mention that on his landing he was received without enthusiasm. When he approached Exeter the bishop and the dean fled, the clergy and the respectable citizens remained passive; and the invader, though applauded by the mob, had no official welcome from the city magnates. When the *Te Deum* was ordered to be chanted in compliment to him the canons refused to be present, and when Dr "Gibby" Burnet began to read the Prince's Declaration the choristers got up and walked out of the cathedral.⁴

Throughout England there were many people who, though they were not prepared to give implicit obedience to James, were by no means disposed to go the length of setting up a foreign prince in his place; and but for James's inability to understand the temper of the nation, but for Churchill's desertion and the treachery of the army, it may be more than doubted if the Prince of Orange would have triumphed in his ambitious enterprise.

On November the 19th King James arrived at Salisbury, whither he had already sent the greater portion of his forces,

¹ Napier, vol. iii., p. 476.

² Crichton says October 25. ("Memoirs," p. 167.)

³ Granger, vol. iv., p. 278. See also p. 96 of Morer's "Short Account of Scotland." Morer also says that Claverhouse "was like to have commanded as eldest Major-General, but that the English officers with the same commissions would not bear it."

⁴ Lingard, vol. x., p. 345.

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the ranks of which were rapidly being thinned by desertion. Amongst the first to read aright the signs of the times was the Scottish General Douglas, who, gauging other men's feelings by his own, was so poor a judge of character as to suggest to Claverhouse to join the Prince of Orange. Claverhouse (says his friend Balcarres) "abhorred the proposition," but as Douglas before disclosing the design had asked him to promise on his honour to keep it secret, his lips were sealed so that he could not even warn the King.¹

A letter from Ambrose Norton, Major in the Duke of St Alban's Regiment of Dragoons, gives a detailed account of the fictions employed to beguile the army into the service of the invader. King James, it was said, had formed a league with France to cut the throats of all his Protestant subjects; and with the help of Father Petre and Lord Sunderland he intended to poison the Prince of Orange. The informant volunteered details of how this was to be effected, and further declared that the "true mother" of the pretended Prince of Wales was in custody of the Prince of Orange; and finally that as soon as King James had remodelled his army to the exclusion of all Protestants, he would "set up a mass in every church in England and Scotland, and he that was not a thorough Papist would be hanged or burnt."²

Lieutenant-Colonel Langston³ (a man whose debts had twice been paid by the King) swore "with vollies of oaths" to the truth of this tissue of absurdities. Those who refused credence were imprisoned, but the majority "reviled the King their master," and with James's money and commissions in their pockets went off to join the invader.⁴

Churchill who owed much to the King, and Kirke whose

¹ Some time afterwards (when, as Douglas's desertion was an accomplished fact, the oath of secrecy no longer applied), Claverhouse told Balcarres and others of the proposal that had been made to him. (Balcarres, "Memoirs," p. 32. Bann. Club.) See also Chapter X. *supra* for Dundee's subsequent allusion to the matter in a letter to Lord Melfort.

² This latter story, according to a contemporary, "did more to drive the King out of the nation than the Prince's army." (Somers' Tracts, vol. x., p. 190.)

³ The Duke of St Albans was in France, and Langston commanded the regiment in his absence.

⁴ Major Norton's letter. Macpherson, "Orig. Papers," vol. i., pp. 288-296.

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savagery had helped to make his royal master hated, were among the first who joined the Prince of Orange.¹ Their example found innumerable imitators, and at the news of every fresh desertion Prince George of Denmark—husband of the Princess Anne—exclaimed in tones of simulated horror “*Est-il possible ?*” but soon he too went with the stream. “What !” said James, with an unexpected flash of humour, “has ‘*Est-il possible*’ gone too ?”²

From a military standpoint, the Prince of Denmark was worth less than a common trooper, and his father-in-law remarked as much ; but when Princess Anne followed her husband to join the invader, James broke down completely ; “God help me !” he said, bursting into tears, “my own children have forsaken me.”³

The breaking of a blood-vessel in the head, says Balcarres’s daughter, “was the consequence of these agitations and sorrows,” and Lord Balcarres never from that period thought the King possessed of firmness of mind or nerve enough “to carry through any purpose, or even to feel with much sensibility.”⁴ From this moment James’s energy and courage vanished so completely that it was difficult to see in him a trace of the once-valiant soldier whose initiative and vigour had been so commended by Turenne.⁵ He appears to have

¹ The French ambassador, Barillon, relates that the future Duke of Marlborough’s desertion provoked from Schomberg the remark that he was the first man of the rank of Lieutenant-General who had ever been known to desert his colours. Churchill appears to have believed genuinely in the Prince of Orange as the Protestant deliverer, and to have been apprehensive of the results of James’s Catholicism.

² Lingard, vol. x., p. 352. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 202, ed. 1790. In the dining-room at Dalkeith Palace there is a portrait of Prince George, a pompous personage with a large foolish face and fair hair ; he wears a breastplate, a green cloak and red sash, and is decorated with the Order of the Elephant. This picture used to be shown to visitors as a portrait of Claverhouse. See App. II.

³ Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 303, ed. 1790. For details of Anne’s conduct see Clarendon’s “Diary,” pp. 207, 214, 215 ; Barillon’s Letters, December 6 and 9 ; and the Duchess of Marlborough’s “Apology,” p. 10. James II.’s “Memoirs,” Clarke, vol. ii., p. 226.

⁴ “Memoirs of Lady Anne Lindsay,” in Lord Lindsay’s “Lives of the Lindsays,” vol. ii., p. 160. Lord Ailesbury’s “Memoirs,” p. 188.

⁵ As for “James, now our present King,” Fountainhall had written shortly before the Revolution, “he is of that martial courage and conduct that the great General Turenne was heard say if he were to conquer the world, he would choose the Duke of York to command his army.” (“Hist. Observes,” p. 148.)

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become apathetic, and to have mistaken his weakness and incapability for the Christian virtue of resignation to the will of heaven.

One of his last exercises of the royal prerogative, a week after the landing of the Prince of Orange, had been to confer upon his "most trusty and well-beloved Councillor Major-General John Grahame of Claverhouse," the Viscountcy of Dundee, in honourable recognition of his "many good and eminent services," his "constant loyalty" and his "firm adherence, upon all occasions, to the true interests of the Crown."¹ This "constant loyalty" was about to be severely tested.

William of Orange marched steadily on from Exeter, and James, uncertain and desponding, left Salisbury. On November the 25th the army retreated to Reading, and on the 26th James reappeared at Whitehall whence he was so soon to be ignominiously expelled. On the wild and stormy evening of December the 9th, the Queen, by her husband's orders, but sorely against her will, fled from England with the infant prince. Next day James wrote to Lord Feversham ordering the disbanding of the army, and announcing that he would leave the country until it should please heaven again to touch the hearts of his subjects with "true loyalty and honour." Had his troops been faithful to him he would perhaps have fought for his crown, but in the circumstances he could not expect his few friends to expose themselves to the danger of "resisting a foreign army" and a "poisoned nation."²

A more astounding communication it is difficult to imagine; and, without crediting Crichton's statement that Lord Dundee shed tears on hearing this most crushing instance of his royal master's folly, we cannot doubt that to be bound in honour to obey the King in this crisis must have been very bitter to the King's most faithful servant.

Captain Crichton of the Dragoons gives from memory the

¹ Warrant Book, Scotland, vol. xiii., fol. 345. Claverhouse was created Viscount of Dundee and Lord Grahame of Claverhouse in the peerage of Scotland, with remainder to the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his other heirs male.

² King James's "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., p. 250, and Kennett, pp. 532, 534



John, Viscount of Dundee
from the Mezzotint in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

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contents of a letter which he says Dundee received at this juncture from the invading prince :

“MY LORD DUNDEE,—I understand you are now at Watford, and that you keep your men together. I desire you may stay there till further orders, and upon my honour none in my army shall touch you.

“W. H. PRINCE OF ORANGE.”¹

As Crichton did not note down his recollections of the Revolution until 1730, more than forty-one years after the events described, his accuracy is by no means unimpeachable ; but it seems likely enough that the Prince of Orange would have opened up communications with Dundee, who had served under him in several campaigns and saved his life in one of them.²

How Dundee rejected his advances we shall subsequently see, but for the moment we must follow the trend of public affairs in Scotland. North of the Tweed, King James's adherents were in a most apprehensive state of mind owing to increasing signs of disaffection, and to their dread of a return to the conditions of 1650. Lord Balcarres, as emissary of the Secret Committee, posted south in all haste to inform the King of the true state of affairs. He reached London on December the 11th or 12th, only to be greeted by the crushing news of James's flight. Refusing to abandon hope, he immediately summoned such of the Scottish Privy Councillors as were in town to meet together at the Duke of Hamilton's lodging, and consider the terms of a report to the Scots Council. Accordingly, on December the 13th, Lord Dundee, Lord Livingstone, old Lord Airlie, and Lieutenant-General Douglas, assembled in obedience to Balcarres's suggestion. The Duke of Hamilton asked to see a letter from the Secret Committee with which Balcarres had been entrusted that he might present it to the King. Balcarres gave him a copy but refused to part with the original, and though the Duke

¹ Crichton's "Memoirs," p. 73.

² *Grameid*, p. 202. Also see *ante*, Chapter I., pp. 25-26.

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argued the point "with his usual vehemency," and lost his temper in so doing, his violent language did not make any impression upon Balcarres or Dundee, who, as future events proved, did well not to confide too much in him. Hamilton's inconstancy has drawn forth unfavourable comments, but he was remarkably constant in so far as he in all circumstances strove to profit himself to the best possible advantage. Three days later, when it became known that the King after being intercepted in his flight was returning immediately to London, "and that things were likely to take another turn," his Grace at once sent for Lord Dundee, made voluble excuses for his previous ill-temper, and desired that all differences of opinion might be forgotten in the King's service.¹

The enthusiasm of the "giddie multitude" on the King's return astonished no one so much as the King himself, who had little thought to be greeted "with bonfires, peals of bells and hearty cheering."² From St George's, Southwark, to Whitehall, "a long march," the crowd was so thick that there was scarcely room for the coaches to pass through the streets, and the balconies and windows were thronged with spectators.³ The applause and acclamation "hugely surprised" the King, who, on seeing "the people's affection" for him, seems to have been momentarily roused from his weary apathy. His involuntary re-entry into London turned out to be (as he says in his "Memoirs") more like a day of triumph than a humiliation.

This demonstration roused uneasiness in the mind of the Prince of Orange, and when the King sent word to him to come next day to St James's Palace and "confer with him,"

¹ But, adds Balcarres, the King had no sooner left Whitehall the second time than Hamilton went to Sion House, "where the Prince of Orange then was, and was received in the kindest manner, not out of affection" but because the Prince thought he would prove a useful tool. ("Memoirs," p. 20.)

² King James's "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., p. 262.

³ "And this I was an eye and an ear witness of," says Lord Ailesbury. ("Memoirs," p. 215. See also the "Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon," p. 120.) A few days previously the mob had been sacking the houses of the chief Catholics in London, destroying the churches, and burning the mass books (James's "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 257, 258), so that James's astonishment at their change of front is comprehensible.

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the Dutch envoy, Zulestine, assured him that "the Prince of Orange would not come thither till his Majesty's troops were sent out of the town"¹; which remark James very properly ignored.

The same day Dundee and Balcarres went to pay their respects, and found the King attended only by a few Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. While they were with him, one of the Generals of the disbanded army came in and on behalf of his colleagues besought the King to allow them "to serve and defend him." The soldiers, he said, were all in or near London, and 20,000 could be gathered together before the end of next day.

"My Lord," replied James, "I know you to be my friend, sincere and honourable; the men who sent you are not so, and I expect nothing from them."²

He then remarked that it was a fine day, and that he would like a walk. No one attended him except Balcarres and Dundee. "When he was in the Mall, he stopped and looked at them, and asked how they came to be with him when all the world had forsaken him and gone to the Prince of Orange." Balcarres said that his fidelity "to so good a master would ever be the same"; and Lord Dundee "made the strongest professions of duty."³ James then confessed he feared to stay longer in England lest he should be made a prisoner—"You know," he said, "there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of Kings,"⁴—and he announced that he was bound for France whence he would authorise Balcarres to manage his civil affairs in Scotland, while Dundee should receive a commission as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Scots army.

The Prince of Orange meanwhile had arrived at Sion House, Brentford, and to him were eagerly flocking such courtiers as assiduously worship the rising sun. "Message

¹ James II.'s "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., p. 262.

² "Memoirs of James, fourth Earl of Balcarres" (quoted in Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays," vol. ii., pp. 161, 162).

³ "Memoirs of James, fourth Earl of Balcarres." (*Ibid.* vol. ii., p. 162.)

⁴ He said the same to Lord Ailesbury. (Ailesbury's "Memoirs," vol. i., 224, 233.)

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after message" had been sent to him by the King, desiring "a personal conference in order to rectify and settle whatever was amiss"; and as he had come to England nominally to bring the King to reason in reference to the "laws, liberty and religion" of the country it must have been distinctly embarrassing when James offered to refer all troubles to "a free Parliament, that all things might be adjusted to the general satisfaction of his subjects."¹ William was not, however, to be thus confounded; and his reply to his father-in-law's pacific message was the sending of the Count de Solmes and the Dutch Guards to surround Whitehall.²

Between one and two o'clock next morning the Marquess of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Delamere came to the palace and demanded an immediate audience in the name of the Prince of Orange. Lord Middleton requested them to wait until the King was awake in the morning, but they said their business would admit of no delay. Accordingly they came into the King's bedroom and delivered to him a letter from the Prince, the purport of which was that, as his Majesty's presence was likely to cause disorder in London, it was thought fit for him to retire to Ham House "that very morning."

Lord Halifax informed him that he must go away before ten o'clock, as the Prince of Orange himself meant to arrive in town at noon. James, "being absolutely in their power," told them that he had no objection to leave London, "but that Ham was a very ill winter house and unfurnished"; and that if he must go would prefer to return to Rochester.

Halifax and his companions declined to make any promises until they had ascertained the pleasure of the Prince of Orange.³

At nine in the morning they returned and announced that the Prince consented to allow his father-in-law to go to

¹ James II.'s "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., p. 264.

² *Ibid.*, and "Great Britain's Just Complaint." Somers' Tracts, vol. x., p. 435.

³ These particulars are related by Delamere's cousin Lord Ailesbury, who was one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber and slept in the King's room. ("Memoirs," vol. i., p. 217, and also in the "Memoirs of James II." Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 265, 266.)

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Rochester attended by the Dutch Guards ; but that he must go by water and not through the City, lest his presence should "cause disorder and move compassion."¹

The remembrance of the enthusiastic manner in which he had been welcomed the previous Sunday, and the fear that the people might rise in his defence, prompted these precautions. James made a feeble protest, but it was unavailing ; and so, at the bidding of a Dutch Prince, he left his palace and his capital for ever.

"All the loyal nobility and others, and the foreign ministers," says Lord Ailesbury, "came to pay him their last respects"² and probably Dundee was one of the sad group which stood on Whitehall stairs to witness the departure of the broken-spirited and nerveless King.

On the same day the Prince of Orange arrived in London, and proceeded "in great magnificence" to St James's. Thus pacifically was accomplished one of the most unheroic revolutions that have ever taken place in the whole course of European history. "That adorable and never to be forgotten step of Divine Providence," as Wodrow rapturously terms it,³ cannot now be thus confidently attributed to heavenly stage-management ; and the time has come when it is allowable to smile at the ironical humour of William of Orange invading England in defence of the Protestant religion at the head of a large army of Catholic mercenaries.⁴

It would seem as though Dundee saw the King once again, and made a final effort to rouse him into action, for Carte relates how Lord Middleton told him that when James

¹ James II.'s "Memoirs," Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 266, 267.

² "Memoirs," vol. i., p. 218.

³ "History," vol. iv., p. 463.

⁴ King James's Protestant friend, Lord Ailesbury, comments on this inconsistency. When the King went to church the day after his arrival at Rochester, the Dutch Guards also came in to hear Mass, and the King remarked to their Colonel that while in the English army not 1000 men in every 180,000 were Catholics, the invading army, brought in professedly to vindicate the Protestant liberties, was two-thirds of it composed of Catholics. (Ailesbury's "Memoirs," pp. 220, 221.)

The introduction of foreign troops was afterwards a subject of complaint in Parliament. (Somers' Tracts, vol. x., p. 374, note.)

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was at Rochester, and deserted by his own servants,¹ one David Middleton, afterwards Steward to the Duke of Bedford ("whom I knew well," says Carte), was called into the King's room to mend the fire, and thus overheard part of an earnest discussion in which Lord Dundee and the Earls of Middleton and Dumbarton were trying to inspirit their dejected sovereign into renouncing his intention of leaving the country.

Lord Dundee said, "Sir, the question is whether you shall stay in England or go to France? My opinion is you should stay in England. Make your stand here and summon your subjects to their allegiance. 'Tis true your army is disbanded by your own authority; but, though disbanded, not so dispersed but if you will give me your commission I will undertake to get ten thousand of them together, and march all through England with your Standard at their head, and drive all the Dutch before you."²

David Middleton probably related this anecdote some time after the event; but though the words may not be accurate the spirit of them tallies with all we know of Lord Dundee. James's reply is typical of the weakness and irresolution which at this juncture made him so exasperating as a master and so lamentably helpless as a King. He said he "believed it might be done," but it would cause civil war, and he would not bring so great a trouble upon the English people whom he loved, and who would "soon come to their senses again."³

¹ Lord Ailesbury who was at Rochester also mentions how destitute the King was of servants.

² Carte's "Memorandum Book," vol. xi., p. 132. Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 299, 300.

³ Professor Terry rejects this conversation on the assumption that James's pious platitude stamps the whole incident as apocryphal (Claverhouse, p. 245), but a study of that long and weighty work, Clarke's "Life of James II.," leads me to a different supposition. In this "Life," based on James's private papers, there is such abundance of pious platitude that it is clear the King's indiscretions were equalled, if not surpassed, by the excellence of his intentions. Take, for instance, a passage from advice drawn up for the guidance of his son, written in 1692: "Do as you would be done to, for that is the law and the prophets. Be very careful that none under you oppress the people, or torment them with vexations, suits, or projects. Remember a King ought to be Father of his people, and must have a fatherly tenderness for them. Live in peace and quiet with all your neighbours," and so on. (Clarke, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 621.)

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Dundee was silenced, but Lord Middleton pleaded that even if the King forbade the use of force he should at least stay in the kingdom ; for if he went away, though only for a few weeks and with intent to return, before he could come back "the new Government would be settled and he would be ruined."¹ But James, as will have been observed, displayed in his middle age to a marked degree the weakness and obstinacy so characteristic of his family ; feeble when firmness might have saved the situation, and stubborn when concession was the only road to safety, the royal Stuarts, unhappily for themselves, were always apt to flout the counsels of their truest friends. James's flight to France was an irretrievable blunder, and though he excused it on grounds which may have seemed to him both plausible and pious, his arguments cannot have been convincing to those who had his interests at heart.

Before he fled he wrote out a statement of the causes that impelled him to quit the country. He did not consider his life safe in the hands of a man who had, without provocation, invaded his dominions, treated him as a prisoner, ordered him to quit his own palace and his capital, and endeavoured to blacken his character by propagating the preposterous falsehood that he meant to palm off a spurious heir on the nation.² He was born free, and wished to remain so ; and whenever his people, weaned from the delusions that now possessed them, should elect to call him back, he gladly would take up again the reins of government ; and he was

¹ Carte says, "This David Middleton told the present Earl he heard, but went away without hearing the end of the discourse. The King soon after stole away for France." James had arrived at Rochester on December the 19th, and he left on the 23rd. Dundee's presence at Rochester has been denied on the ground that the King does not mention it in his autobiography ; but neither does the King mention his last walk in the Mall with Balcarres and Dundee, which is related by Balcarres's son and has never been questioned. Carte had "frequent opportunities of being well informed . . . , and had been partly in the secret of affairs during the last four years of Queen Anne." (Macpherson, vol. i., Introduction, p. 11.)

² "The chief contents of the Prince [of Orange]'s Declaration was contrary to his natural belief—I mean as to the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, and I had it from a most unquestionable hand that he firmly believed that birth, but out of policy he was obliged to give way to the current of those times." (Lord Ailesbury's "Memoirs," vol. i., p. 186.)

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not yet too old to hazard his life for his country. He concluded by expressing his unalterable hope that the country would eventually agree to "a liberty of conscience for all Protestant dissenters," and would extend the same tolerance to the people of his own persuasion ; and finally he appealed to all men of experience and judgment whether there was anything that could make a nation "so great and flourishing as Liberty of Conscience."¹

Few will be found nowadays to deny that liberty of conscience was sorely needed, but the national mind was not then ripe for it ; and James was both too undiplomatic and too arbitrary to be capable of overcoming public prejudice. Though time has brought about by slow degrees that toleration which a couple of hundred years ago to many men seemed far more scandalous than atheism, and though the nation no longer prays to be delivered from "the Pope, the Devil, and the Pretender," nevertheless there are few historians who hold a brief for James. Although human nature may retain an incongruous and half-unwilling fondness for an engaging sinner, the well-meaning man whose errors are rather fatuities than crimes will always find scant mercy at the bar of history. "James," said his brother, "*would* see through these things if he *could*"; Charles on the contrary "*could* see through things when he *would*." Charles, with his pleasant manner, his indolence, his cynical knowledge of men, his personal charm, and his penetrating wit, finds many apologists even now, or rather many affectionate friends who say with suave effrontery that apology is needless. Frankly selfish, he had the saving graces—tact and humour ; so despite his airy disregard of the restraints of decency and morals, despite his still more gross offences against honesty and honour, he lived and died beloved by his people.

James on the contrary was painstaking, scrupulous and conscientious ; but dull in his vices as in his virtues ; and whereas the other Stuarts, despite their faults and follies, have seldom failed to draw forth sympathy and compassion,

¹ Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 274, 275. James left this paper behind him, addressed to the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State. (Ailesbury, "Memoirs," vol i., p. 225.)

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James's misfortunes have excited little else but scorn. His youthful prowess and achievements both by land and sea have almost been forgotten ; few now recall him as the hero of Lowestoft, or as the willing pupil of Turenne. His ignominious flight, his overthrow in Ireland, his ultimate failure to redeem his own mistakes—these only are remembered. And this, severe as it may seem, is justice ; for it is the finish that decides the race, and in the crisis of his life King James was weighed in the balance and found wanting.

It is customary to ascribe his fall to his Catholicism and his blind belief in the "Divine Right" of his race ; and these no doubt were the immediate factors. But his own character was at the root of all the trouble ; and his deficiencies were inborn and unalterable. His signal failure in the capacity of monarch lay not so much in his despotic theories as in his lack of the consistent mental vigour and controlling force without which despotism undertakes more than it can perform.

In a turbulent age the need of autocratic rule is felt, though not invariably acknowledged ; and in 1688 the notion of the King as God's vicegerent upon earth was still a vital article of faith for those to whom a strong hereditary government appeared the one alternative to endless civil strife. Such was the creed of Claverhouse ; such the conviction which impelled him—though a worldly and ambitious man—to take the losing side, and lavish strength and fortune in an almost superhuman effort to convert disaster into victory.

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Brave as he undoubtedly was, he seems, like many other brave men, to have been less proof against the danger of assassination than against any other form of danger. He knew what the hatred of the Covenanters was: he knew how well he had earned their hatred; and he was haunted by that consciousness of inextinguishable guilt, and by that dread of a terrible retribution, which the ancient polytheists personified under the awful name of the Furies.
—MACAULAY'S *History of England*.

I am sure whatever evil befall the country the King is innocent, and I have done my duty.—DUNDEE to LORD MURRAY (July 19, 1689).

Chapter VII: The Duke of Hamilton's Convention, 1689

TO undertake the championship of the fallen King was to grapple with a task so overwhelming that in hours of reactionary depression, such as come to all aspiring and ardent minds, Dundee must have faced the grim question whether it was indeed possible to compel success for a Stuart. The fate of the Royalist leaders in the previous generation cannot have failed to be profoundly discouraging. Though Strafford had been the master intellect of his day, and gifted with a character as forcible as Cromwell, yet even he could not save Charles I. ; Prince Rupert had three times put the chance of victory into his King's hand, only for the King to throw away the opportunities ; Montrose had done all that devoted loyalty, unwavering determination and tireless courage could do ; but in the end he too had tasted the bitterness of irrevocable defeat. Yet it was in the footsteps of these men that Dundee chose to tread. Until the Revolution, his loyalty and his interests had not infrequently gone hand in hand ; he had been a staunch servant to the King, but from a practical point of view loyalty was not unprofitable. Now came the real test. As far as it is humanly possible to tell, he never wavered ; *semper idem et sibi constans*,¹ his devotion to the monarchy increased in proportion to the King's desperate need. Had he transferred his services to the Prince of

¹ Martine of Clermont's epitaph on Dundee. See Chapter VIII. *supra*.

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Orange, who nearly twelve years previously had recommended him to Charles and James, undoubtedly he would have been well received ; his so-called "cruelties" moreover would now be no more quoted than those of Queensberry, Hamilton, Douglas or any other of King James's servants who deserted him and attached themselves to the winning side.

No sooner had the King left the country than Dundee and Balcarres set quietly but vigorously to work to try and undo the effects of the royal folly and weakness. They sent James, by trusty messengers, Hay and Lindsay, reports of all that affected his interests, and forwarded to him sketches of diplomatic letters which he was to write to various influential people, using the arguments they had most carefully selected as suitable to the various interests and inclinations of the persons in question. The Duke of Queensberry had not openly declared for William, and the Marquess of Atholl apparently was willing still to lend his name and prestige to the cause of James. With these examples there was hope that many of the other leading members of the Scots nobility would support Balcarres and Dundee at the forthcoming Convention.

This Convention, which had been fixed to meet at Edinburgh in March, embarrassed many of King James's adherents. As it was called by the Prince of Orange, some feared that to attend it would be a breach of the oath they had taken "to sit in no public meeting unless called by legal authority" ; others thought that they might "honestly and justly" be present if their motive was to defend their King against an angry and "insulting enemy." "But," concludes Balcarres, "Your Majesty ended this debate by sending over Mr Hay to some few of us you trusted, with your authority for our going"¹ ; and accordingly Balcarres and Dundee set to work to convince all their friends that in the following March they must come boldly forward to support the interests of the King.

"Never was seen so great a confluence upon the road to

¹ "Memoirs," Bann. Club, p. 22.

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London" as at this critical juncture of affairs. "Discontented lords and gentlemen," who wished to "reap the fruit of their labours," and Episcopalians desirous of saving themselves from ruin, flocked rapidly to England; but their number was insignificant in comparison with the Presbyterians, who, joined by their countrymen recently arrived from Holland, formed "regular meetings at the Ship Tavern in St James's Street," where "they consulted what was to be done to have the government secured to themselves and to have all others debarred."¹

They intended that the eminent persons who had served the crown in the last two reigns should be excluded from future employment. "To see how this would take," they named only five at first, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord Tarbat, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, Lord Dundee, and Lord Balcarres.² The Prince of Orange, however, declined to have his affairs thus taken out of his hands; he was too politic to alienate needlessly men who (he thought) might in time be impelled by self-interest to come over to his side, and he did not neglect to make advances even to King James's personal friends. Balcarres, whose first wife had been a cousin of his,³ was an old acquaintance, one of those to whom "he declared his favour," adding "that he doubted not of his attachment to him" at the coming Convention. Balcarres (as his son relates) expressed the "utmost respect," but said plainly that "he could have no hand in turning out his King, who had been a kind master to him though imprudent in many things."⁴ His Highness of Orange did not abandon hope, but twice again gave Balcarres the chance to reconsider his decision. When it became plain that Balcarres had no intention of availing himself of these opportunities, the Prince, wearied of polite-

¹ Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club), p. 19.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mauritia de Nassau de Beverwaerth, d. of Louis, Lord de Beverwaerth, natural son of Henry, Prince of Orange. William of Orange gave her emerald earrings for a wedding present. She died in child-birth within a year of her marriage, and was buried at St Margaret's, Westminster. (Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays," vol. ii., p. 121.)

⁴ "Memoirs of James, fourth Earl of Balcarres," in "Lives of the Lindsays," vol. ii., p. 163.

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ness, informed him he had best "beware how he behaved," for "if he transgressed the law he should be left to it."¹ On being likewise asked to enter the service of the Prince of Orange, Dundee "refused without ceremony," and "continued openly" attached to James.²

"That false and vain relater, Burnet" (as Lord Ailesbury calls him³) represents himself as having been employed by the "Earl of Dundee" to carry messages to the invading Prince to know what treatment he might expect if he lived quietly in Scotland.⁴ The first of Burnet's three wives was an aunt of Lady Dundee, and it is conceivable that on the strength of this connection, Burnet—"a large bold-looking man,"⁵ possessed of "most invincible assurance"⁶—who before he was twenty-one had sought to instruct his archbishop, would not have hesitated to offer his advice and services as intercessor even to the "proud, and passionate"⁷ Dundee; nor can any except those who fail to realise the mental standpoint of Dundee doubt for a moment the contempt with which such offers would have been received.⁸

Macaulay has improved upon Burnet in his endeavours to rob his particular aversion even of the credit of loyalty; but the Reverend Thomas Morer, who had "the advantage

¹ "Memoirs of James, fourth Earl of Balcarres." Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays," vol. ii., p. 163.

² Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 300, ed. 1790.

³ "I may term him so, by reason that I can give him the lie as to the greater part of his more modern remarks and reflections." ("Memoirs," vol. i., p. 22.)

⁴ Burnet, "Own Time," vol. iv., p. 39, ed. 1833.

⁵ Macky's "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," p. 140.

⁶ Lord Dartmouth's notes to Burnet's "Own Time."

⁷ Burnet, "Orig. Memoirs," Foxcroft's Supplement to Burnet's "History," p. 305.

⁸ Historians have been misled into believing Burnet; but I would point out that Dundee, who was an excellent judge of character, and had a keen eye for the follies and weaknesses of others (and who moreover was in the habit of transacting his own business), was the last man who would have employed such an intermediary as Burnet. Burnet had returned to England with the Prince of Orange, having been previously banished for slanders against King James. He was one of the five exceptions to James's Indemnity, and was the reputed author of the "Protestant Memorial," which set forth, with scurrilous but contradictory details, the supposition that the Prince of Wales was not the child of either the King or Queen. A more improbable ambassador for Dundee to have chosen can hardly be imagined; his one allusion to Burnet is in connection with the conduct of Lord Cassilis. "Even Cassilis has gone astray, misled by Gibby." (See Chapter X. *supra*.)

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of easy and confidential intercourse with the best informed people of his day, who were able to speak from their own personal knowledge,"¹ lays stress upon the fact that Lord Dundee was "too free in declaring his thoughts" to the Prince of Orange "and therefore could expect no kind reception."²

This is best in keeping both with the Prince's character and that of Claverhouse; the Prince was not conspicuous for graciousness to his supporters, still less to his declared and candid enemies, and that Dundee was frank with him it is unreasoning to doubt. Prevarication would have been quite ineffectual; the Prince was far too shrewd to be deceived by subterfuge; and Claverhouse—though reticent by nature and a master of finesse by training—was in a crisis never shy of speaking out his mind. When merely a Captain of Horse, at the beginning of his services in Galloway, he had not been afraid to throw down the gauntlet of defiance to the two Dalrymples in their native shire; nor at a later period had he feared to put forth his opinions as opposed to those of the all-powerful High Treasurer, the head of the most influential family in Scotland. His protest to the Prince of Orange, word of which has only reached us through the brief allusions of the Reverend Thomas Morer and Sir John Dalrymple, is consistent with the tenor of his life.

The Scots nobility in 1688 were not remarkable for frankness, and—with a few exceptions—dexterity in sitting on the fence was most in fashion both in England and in Scotland. To sway between one party and the other, making overtures to both but being true to neither, was so much the custom of the day that Claverhouse and Balcarres stand out as men whose rule of honour was quite foreign to the standard of the age in which they lived. Mendacity was all the vogue, and—as we have already seen—no man was more indebted to the gentle art of lying than his Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange. Having deceived the Pope and bluffed the Emperor, he had then proceeded with consummate skill to fool the English nation even while it hailed him champion

¹ Note to Burt's "Letters from the North of Scotland," vol. ii., p. 137.

² "A Short Account of Scotland," p. 97, ed. 1702. See also Granger, vol. vi., p. 278.

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and deliverer. His ability was no less marked than his unscrupulousness, and, inasmuch as his designs were large, he won a permanent place among the men of action who have left their mark upon our nation. Hatred of France—his dominating motive—and determination to avenge himself for past humiliations from the *Roi Soleil*, nerved this physically weak and ailing man to struggle, scheme and plot, with such incessant strenuous persistence as commands a certain admiration; and it is extremely interesting to note that though he broke his promises as flagrantly as any Stuart, and was in some respects an equal tyrant, he was, unlike the Stuarts, so diplomatic and so artful that he held the English public in the hollow of his hand even while posing as the disinterested giver of political freedom. He had divined that where a frankly autocratic rule will rouse innumerable enemies and put a premium on rebellion, the magic word of “liberty” when cried upon the housetops will beguile the innocent majority into admiring measures which if labelled by their veritable names would never gain an instant’s toleration. In his Declaration he had announced that his sole object was “the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of all their laws, rights and liberties, under a just and legal government”; and that “this expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled as soon as possible.”¹

This language was a welcome contrast to the dictatorial announcements of the Stuarts, who made no secret of dislike to Parliaments; and there were few who in the actions of Prince William could in 1688 discern the iron hand beneath the velvet glove. The Prince’s Declaration was accepted as the exposition of his faith, and great was the amazement some

¹ “History of the Desertion . . . by a Person of Quality,” pp. 64 to 65 (1689). See also Clarendon’s “Diary,” p. 215, where there is an amusing reference to Bentinck’s horror at the suggestion that the Prince of Orange had designs upon the Crown. A crown, he admitted, might be “a great temptation to other men,” but to suppose that the Prince cherished such an ambition was “the most wicked insinuation that could be invented.”

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time afterwards when it became apparent the millennium was still far distant. The very men who had most eagerly supported William as the champion of reform and freedom were the first to cry out in dismay against him. The Stuart tyranny was no more ; the Protestant religion was triumphant ; and yet it was revealed to an astonished world that despite the glorious Revolution

“men of all degrees are injured and oppressed more than ever, with enormous and excessive fines . . . that places of trust both civil and military are sold ; and that the kingdom is full of foreign forces to the terror of our own people. That the public monies given and designed solely for the defence and preservation of the nation have been misapplied”¹ ;

and that in short the liberating Dutchman had invaded England and assumed the English crown not philanthropically from love of liberty and England, but diplomatically to secure for Holland a strong base of operations. The keeping of a standing army had been one of James's sins, but William was to prove more militant than James ; a fact most disconcerting to a number of the revolutionaries who had supported him. Dundee and Balcarres obviously realised from the beginning that his Highness's supposed solicitude for England was dictated by determination to maintain the long-drawn struggle of the Netherlands against the might of France. Their loyalty to James was far from being mere romantic folly ; it was inspired both by policy and patriotism. The anti-papal fury, which had served its purpose against James, was known to be a party cry, and none deplored it more sincerely than the honest Protestants.

It must be here repeated that Dundee in championing King James was not upholding “Popery” as such ; he himself declared he was “as much concerned in the Protestant religion as any man”² ; and it should be pointed out that not Dundee alone but hosts of lesser Jacobites—who gave up office, lands and honours, rather than desert the King—were

¹ Somers' Tracts, vol. x., p. 543.

² Dundee to Cluny Macpherson. See Chapter X., p. 306 *supra*.

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Protestants, such Protestants as had perceived that William's zeal for the Established Church was diplomatic more than spiritual. Dundee's attitude towards theological questions has been described by the Anglican clergyman previously quoted, the Reverend Thomas Morer, who, though he took the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, and "ventured his person in Ireland," at the battle of the Boyne, gave offence to his own party by expressing an unqualified and ardent admiration for Dundee. Characterising him as a man of "deep thought and indefatigable industry," he adds that he was so "fixed in his religion" that King James "could not charm him into any dislike of it, but the more he found it opposed the more he loved it. He was a great admirer of the Church of England worship, and often wished Scotland so happy that where God is served the service might be done in some visible instances of reverence, such as are order and decency."¹

As far as it is possible to judge, Dundee, though steadily and unostentatiously attached to his own religion, was broad-minded in an age of violent extremes. Without the slightest inclination to join the Church of Rome he appears nevertheless to have been free from prejudice against Catholics, an attitude not uncommon in our own day but very rare in his. We are indebted to the strongly anti-Catholic Fountainhall for the following illuminating anecdote. Two and a half years before the Revolution (on February the 16th, 1686) the "no-Popery" riots had prompted the Lord Chancellor Perth—himself a Catholic—to suggest that notice should be taken of an inflammatory sermon preached at Selkirk, in

¹ "A Short Account of Scotland," p. 98. Claverhouse's use of the word "decency" in this connection may surprise those who are not familiar with the theological utterances of the Covenanting Saints. A modern editor of the letters of that shining light of the Covenant the Rev. Samuel Rutherford, explains that these holy utterances will be distasteful to "the godless Christless class of the worldly" and to men of a "hard, dry, logical, metaphysical and mathematical temperament," who will be unable to appreciate the "strains of heavenly grandeur" in "these matchless letters glowing with celestial fire." (Preface by the Rev. Alexr. Duff. 1891.) The curious reader can study these sanctimonious effusions for himself, especially the letters to elect ladies among the godly, in which the "celestial fire" takes a form which had Rutherford been a Cavalier instead of a Covenanter would have been called by quite a different name.

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which the parson, a renegade Catholic, had "given his opinion freely against Popery," declaring that "no man, without renouncing his sense and reason," could assent to such doctrines as transubstantiation and the Pope's infallibility.¹ Lord Perth argued that as these pulpit censures on the King's religion were in the worst of taste, and calculated to provoke fresh outbursts of sedition, the parson was deserving of official rebuke. Fountainhall, who was present in Council, tells us that "Claverhouse backed the Chancellor," and that Perth's speech and Claverhouse's comments were greeted with a "deep silence in all the rest of the Councillors." The incident is characteristic; Claverhouse, who had championed the condemned prisoners in Dundee gaol, and had dared to oppose Queensberry in support of the soldiers who had been oppressed by the omnipotent house of Douglas, was not the man to hesitate on such an occasion as this. He had no leaning to Catholicism, Perth was not one of his especial friends, and to uphold a Catholic at that time was to incur a degree of odium now difficult to realise; but he had too strong a sense of justice to be deterred by these considerations, and therefore could not but second the proposal of the unpopular Lord Chancellor.

It was very much the mode during the Revolution crisis to make the Protestant religion a pretext for much which by an unimpassioned observer cannot be judged creditable to the tenets of any religion; but Dundee's Protestantism was not of the type which enabled a man to persuade himself that he went over to the winning side solely for the glory of God.

One may observe in the politicians of all creeds at this period a tendency to take for granted that no one had a soul to be saved but themselves; this, however, was by no means Dundee's attitude, and in believing Protestantism able to hold its own and grant tolerance to Catholics as well, he paid the Established Church a greater compliment than those more

¹ The sermon in question was published in Edinburgh in 1686 and a copy is in the British Museum; it is entitled "Rome's Additions to Christianity shewn to be inconsistent with the true design of spiritual religion," by the Rev. Jas. Canaries, D.D., Minister of Selkirk.

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violent Protestants who looked upon religious liberty as the inevitable prelude to their own destruction.

It will be remembered that when King James had summoned the Scottish army to England in the autumn of 1688, those of its officers who were his friends had obeyed unwillingly, knowing that they were leaving Edinburgh to fall into the hands of the disaffected. Their expectations were fully realised :

“The Presbyterians and discontented party [says Balcarres], seeing themselves now at liberty and the Government abandoned, took their opportunity, and Edinburgh was filled with them from all quarters of the nation. They then took off their mask, and formed several clubs, where they deliberated upon what was to be done, as freely as if allowed by authority. . . . One of the first things taken into consideration was how to hinder all correspondence between your Majesty and the Council, which Sir James Montgomery undertook, and performed so effectually that few packets coming or going escaped him.¹ . . . Some few flying packets got through from the Earl of Melfort to his brother, but in them the truth disguised and the facts quite different from what the Viscount of Dundee wrote to me.”

After news came of the landing of the Prince of Orange, Balcarres had hastened to England as the envoy of the Secret Committee, and some days before he left he heard that “the rabble intended to make an uproar” in Edinburgh, which rumour he declares was assiduously circulated with the hope that it would “frighten away” the King’s servants, especially the Lord Chancellor, who as a Catholic was extremely unpopular. According to a time-worn but ever effectual stratagem, the people were roused to the required state of fury by a rumour that the Papists were to massacre the Protestants. Although the proportion of Catholics in Edinburgh was somewhat less than one in every two thousand

¹ Sir James Montgomery was afterwards disappointed in the results of the Revolution, and complained bitterly against the new régime which he had helped to institute.

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persons, the alarm spread like wildfire.¹ As a contemporary says, "in the confusion that men were then in, a great many unwary people were frightened, and the Presbyterians concerted their measures and flew to their arms"; but, "finding no appearance of any danger, they began to tire," and would have dispersed had not one of them remarked that it was "a pity so many honest men should meet without doing something worthy of themselves," and that it would please all good Protestants if they should go and pull down the Popish Chapel in the Abbey.² The suggestion was received with enthusiasm, and the city "became a dismal habitation carrying all the marks of Hell and confusion; nothing was heard but screeches, lamentable howlings, and shootings; and this was not managed by the body of the people (who were very averse to such treacherous and unmanly adventures), but by some of the leading Presbyterians who then [had] and now have authority in the state."³

After having wreaked their wrath on the chapel at Holyrood, the rabble "opened the Chancellor's cellars" and "made themselves as drunk with wine as before they had been with zeal. Two or three days they rambled about the town, and plundered the Roman Catholics, who were very few; some of their ladies they treated with the utmost barbarity, nor did the Council anything to hinder these disorders."⁴

¹ *Vide* a Protestant (Episcopal) pamphlet "An Apology for the Clergy" (1693).

One of the numerous mendacious newsletters of the Revolution party (dated from Berwick, December 23, 1689, and published in London) sets forth that the "bloody Papists" in Edinburgh then expected any moment to be joined by 20,000 Irish who had landed and were ravaging the country with fire and sword.

These 20,000 Irish "sixty miles from Edinburgh" were purely imaginary, but the mere name of Irish papists sufficed for alarmist purposes. ("A true Relation of the Horrid and Bloody Massacre in Scotland, by the Irish Papists," given *in extenso* in "Edinburgh Old and New," vol i., pp. 60, 61.)

² Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club), p. 15.

³ "In the meantime the governors of this tumult, finding that the people were not so forward to pillage the King's house, went up and down and told them that their children were killed, though those very children were at home and safe." ("An Apology for the Clergy," pp. 8 and 9. 1693.) See also Balcarres, pp. 15 and 16; and Speke's "Secret History"; Speke was partly responsible for this affray and very proud of it (pp. 45, 46).

⁴ Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club ed.), p. 17.

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This riot, however, though it had the desired effect of alarming Lord Perth,¹ soon died down; and when Dundee and Balcarres returned to Scotland at the end of February they found Edinburgh "in great tranquillity and generally well-affected."²

The Governor of Edinburgh Castle at this juncture was the Duke of Gordon; a personage "very handsome, taller than the ordinary size," thin, well-dressed, though "somewhat finical, resembling the French."³ Like Claverhouse, he first saw service under Turenne and William of Orange. He has been described by one of his contemporaries as "a very fine gentleman, . . . well-bred; made for the company of ladies"⁴; but despite these personal attractions he had nothing of that vigour and initiative which marks the leader of men. Moreover he was "extremely covetous," a quality which seldom impels its possessor to decisive action in a national crisis.

Balcarres and Dundee, on their way up to the Castle, met his Grace's furniture being carried out,⁵ by which they took it he was on the eve of resigning a charge which in the circumstances threatened to be both expensive and embarrassing.

They promptly made their way into the Castle,⁶ saw his Grace in private, and used all their arts of eloquence and persuasion to encourage him to stand firm for King James. The Duke, it should be remembered, was that Marquess of Huntly whose dukedom had been created some time past

¹ Historians (with the exception of Lingard) repeat each other in vituperating Perth. His Catholicism is nearly always asserted to have been due to interested motives; yet if this had been the case he could easily have recanted at the Revolution, instead of which he submitted to several years imprisonment, and then went into exile, remaining always faithful to his creed and his King. Opinions may differ as to his character, but his fidelity to his religion, and the fact that he was even more devoted to it in poverty than in prosperity, ought to save him from the accusation of having changed his faith from worldly motives. His letters to his sister, the Countess of Erroll (published by the Camden Society), exhibit him as a man more conscientious than brilliant, bearing small resemblance to the stage villain who stalks through the pages of many a popular history.

² Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club ed.), p. 23.

³ John Macky's "Characters of the Nobility of Scotland," p. 196.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁵ Balcarres (Bann. Club), p. 24.

⁶ Probably by the secret passage, which subsequently was discovered through the treachery of a woman on the night of May the 31st, 1689. ("Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh," p. 62.)

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(at Claverhouse's suggestion) to fix securely for the King the Gordon interest in the north. A Catholic by birth and education, married to a daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, his inclinations were all for the legitimate Stuart King; but natural anxiety to guard the Gordon title and estates intimidated him, and had disposed him to coquet with the Convention.

It rested with Dundee and Balcarres to point out that James's cause was not yet lost; and, as Balcarres phrases it, "we had the good fortune to convince him that it would be so much for your Majesty's service and his own honour" to defend the Castle, that he promised to hold out "until he saw what the Convention intended to do."¹

Dundee, satisfied that he and Balcarres had inspirited Gordon sufficiently for the time being, went on almost immediately to his castle of Dudhope, and there stayed with his wife during the three weeks preceding the opening of the Convention. On his return to Edinburgh (on March the 12th or 13th) the aspect of affairs was gloomy. The Duke of Hamilton and other Whig peers and gentlemen had brought with them several companies of foot-soldiers, which they quartered openly in the town, besides "a great number of rabble that they kept concealed in vaults and cellars till some days after the Convention had met"²; and there seemed reason to believe that whether by force or strategy they were resolved to play a winning game.

When the Convention met, on March the 14th, the Duke of Hamilton was elected President. This, from the point of view of the Jacobites in general and Dundee in particular, was an ominous beginning.

To gain possession of Edinburgh Castle was then, for Hamilton, the most important move; the Prince of Orange was "extremely desirous to have it in his power," and accordingly the Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were sent to the Duke of Gordon "with very favourable offers." Tweeddale, who was a personal friend of Gordon, so used his influence as

¹ Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club), p. 24.

² *Ibid.*

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to persuade him into promising to yield the Castle on the following day.¹

“As soon as we heard this [says Balcarres, speaking for himself and Dundee], we sent to the Duke and put him in mind of his engagements to us. As irresolution had been the cause of his promise to the Earl of Tweeddale, so the arguments used by us for defending it, joined to an earnest desire to be faithful to your Majesty, brought him about again. . . . But that which confirmed him the most, was the Viscount of Dundee going into the Castle, and letting him know the resolutions of your friends to quit the Convention and call one at Stirling.”²

The Duke's difficulty (says Balcarres) was that he had promised to capitulate. To avoid the semblance of breaking his word, he expressed himself as willing to surrender, but on terms which he was certain would not be accepted. The Convention, as he had anticipated, refused his conditions, but offered him a safe-conduct if he would reconsider the situation and come in person to discuss new terms. Refusing to do this, he sent Lord Dundee a letter to be read to the Convention, stating that if it was to his Catholicism that they took exception he would willingly hand over the governorship of the Castle to the Earl of Airlie. To substitute the vigorous Lord Airlie for the “finical” Duke of Gordon was not to the taste of Hamilton or his Convention, so this offer was at once declined. (March the 15th.)

Immediately after, says the old account of the siege, “the Viscount of Dundee did, by Cockburne younger of Lanton, a gentleman of quality and merit,³ advertize the Duke that the Convention were instantly to give him a solemn and formal summons, by the heralds with their coats of arms.” And accordingly, “the same hour” came two heralds, and two pursuivants in all the pomp of their official panoply,

¹ Balcarres (Bann. Club), p. 26.

² *Ibid.*

³ Archibald Cockburne, younger of Lanton; he was son-in-law to Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh.

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attended by "two trumpeters sounding their trumpets"; and "with a loud voice" they bade the Duke immediately surrender if he would not be declared a traitor. At the Castle gates they read a proclamation offering six months pay to any Protestant in the garrison who would deliver up his Catholic Grace of Gordon.

The Duke, bidding the heralds tell the Convention that he kept the fortress by command of their master King James, and would defend it to the last, scattered guineas amongst them in most lordly fashion, recommending them to drink the King's health and that of all loyal subjects; and finally he advised them not to proclaim the King's adherents traitors while they themselves still wore the livery of the King upon their backs—which pungent remark sounds as though it might have been inspired by Dundee.

The Convention then ordered the heralds to go to the mercat cross, "and there in the ordinary way, after sound of trumpets," to forbid "all the subjects of this kingdom to converse with, abet, or assist" the Duke of Gordon "or any remaining with him."¹ Guards were posted at the avenues "leading to the Castle of Edinburgh and postern gates thereof" with orders to see that no one went in with provisions or came out with messages.

After this, the "wild hill men" and Cameronians, who had hitherto lurked "in vaults and cellars," sallied boldly into the streets, so that Edinburgh must have presented the appearance of an immense Conventicle. These Cameronians, "so called from one Cameron, a preacher or famous ringleader among them, are" (says a contemporary) "the worst kind of Presbyterians, who confine the Church to a few of the western shires of the kingdom of Scotland," disclaim all Uncameronian kings, and "think it their duty to murder all who are out of the state of grace—that is, not of their communion."² Amongst those who were "out of the state of grace," Dundee had always been conspicuous; some six years previously he had written to Queensberry of his escape from a party of these

¹ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 8.

² "Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh," p. 37.

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zealots who were "seeking the enemies of God," and had a mind to meet him. The point of view of the Cameronians had in no way changed, and Macaulay waxes eloquent on the subject: "We may well wonder," he says, "that a man who had shed the blood of the saints like water should have been able to walk the High Street in safety during a single day." It is true that the practice of assassination is so emphatically recommended in "Naphtali," "Jus Populi Vindictum," and "A Hind let Loose," three of the favourite books of the "suffering remnant," that we may reasonably share Macaulay's surprise that Dundee should ever have walked the streets in safety. Just before the meeting of the Convention on the third day of its sitting (March the 16th), Dundee was warned that "six or seven of the Western rabble" had undertaken to assassinate him and Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh; and his informant "offered to lead him to the house where they were then met in order to put their design in execution."¹ As soon as the Convention met, Dundee disclosed this to the President, who appeared willing to have the matter investigated, and allowed Mackenzie to speak at some length in connection with it. One James Binnie, a dyer, gave evidence that the previous day "in his own house" he had heard two men plotting against Dundee and Mackenzie, and vowing that "these dogs" should not escape them.² But the public-minded members of the Convention—who on the first day of the meeting wasted hours quarrelling over their own precedence—declined to concern themselves with "private affairs,"³ and it was very evident that there was nothing to be gained by pressing the matter.

Dundee, however, had hopes of speedy triumph on another and more crucial point. He and his friend Balcarres had extracted from King James the promise that he would write a diplomatic letter as composed for him by them, and this suave letter, to be sent to the Convention, was so phrased as to confirm the wavering in their allegiance, re-inspirit the

¹ Balcarres, "Memoirs" (Bann. Club), p. 29.

² Minutes of the Convention. (Napier, vol. iii., pp. 503, 504.)

³ Balcarres (Bann. Club), p. 29.

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faithful, and confound the enemy. Therefore when the macer announced that the King's Messenger Mr Crane¹ was at the door with a communication from his Majesty, the news, says Balcarres, "was joyful to us, expecting a letter . . . to the Convention in terms suitable to the bad situation."

Dundee and Balcarres, in firm belief that this conciliatory letter would be written by the King according to the sketch they had prepared, "had engaged many to come to the Convention," hoping that "such full satisfaction would be given in matters of religion and liberty" that those who had declared in favour of the Prince of Orange would reconsider the position and "return to their duty."²

The members of the Convention, after their parochial fashion, leisurely considered the election of a Perth Burgess before devoting their attention to the King's letter. A letter from the Prince of Orange had previously been delivered to the President by Lord Leven; and on Hamilton's suggestion it was agreed that before opening the King's letter it would be safest first to read the Prince's, as nothing therein contained could dissolve the meeting, "as the King's letter might do"³; by which it will be seen that the Convention still recognised James's authority.

The Prince of Orange, beginning by setting forth his sensibility of

"the kindness and concern that many of your Nation hath evidenced towards Us and Our undertaking for the preservation of Religion and Liberty," concluded his epistle with his usual assurance that "We . . . having nothing so much before our eyes as the glory of God, the establishing of the reformed Religion, and the peace and happiness of these nations, are resolved to use our utmost endeavours in advancing everything which may conduce to the effectuating the same."⁴

¹ Crane afterwards was the bearer of "a very obliging letter," from the Queen to Dundee. He was an officer of the Queen's Household, and in 1701 was appointed her Gentleman Usher. (Hist. MSS. "Stuart Papers," vol. i., p. 164.)

² Balcarres, "Memoirs," pp. 22, 23, 27, 28.

³ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 9.

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All this was very much what might have been expected, and did not materially affect the situation. The Jacobite party had "pressed" much for the reading of the King's letter, but some hesitation was, as Balcarres explains, not surprising, considering "the miserable condition the nation would be in if that letter should contain a prohibition or dissolve the Convention." Accordingly an Act was rapidly passed to the following effect :—

"Forasmuch as there is a letter from King James the Seventh presented to the Meeting of the Estates, they, before opening thereof, declare and enact that notwithstanding of anything that may be contained in that letter for dissolving them or impeding their procedure, yet that they are a free and lawful meeting of the Estates, and will continue undissolved until they settle and secure the Protestant religion, the government, laws and liberties of the kingdom."¹

Such an Act was most embarrassing to the defenders of absolute monarchy ; but Dundee and Balcarres, confident as they were that the royal letter of their own composing would redeem the situation, judged it wisest not to delay the reading of it by an ill-timed protest. Thus, with their brother peers, they signed their names.²

Then the King's Messenger was brought in, and the letter read aloud with a decorum suitable to the occasion. But no sooner was it read than it was recognised as in the "hand and style" of the detested Earl of Melfort. Immediately "the House was in tumult," and no one more astonished and dismayed than James's champions. Instead of the conciliatory letter Dundee and Balcarres had carefully sketched out for him, the King had written a tirade of arrogant and futile condemnation, ending with a foolish hollow threat "to punish with the rigour of Our Law all such as shall stand out in rebellion against Us or Our authority."³

¹ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 9.

² See Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 8, for facsimiles of signatures.

³ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 10. (The letter is dated from on board the *St Michael*, March 1, 1689.)

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The consternation of the King's best friends can easily be imagined.

"Glad were your enemies [writes Balcarres reproachfully to James] to find nothing so much as promised of what we had asserted should be done for their satisfaction, [they] having much feared many of their party would forsake them if your Majesty's letter had been written in the terms we advised from London."¹

As a matter of fact the letters written by Balcarres and Dundee from London had been intercepted and suppressed before they reached the King; not intercepted by the enemy, which would have been excusable, but waylaid by Lord Melfort,² James's secretary, an ardent Jacobite and Catholic, but a most envious, tyrannical and arrogant-minded man who did incalculable injury to his royal master's cause. "He is very ambitious," comments a contemporary, "will stick at nothing to gain his end; . . . is very proud; cannot bear a rival in business; nor is he much to be trusted himself but where his ambition can be fed."³

Conspicuous for lack of judgment, he destroyed by means of this infatuated letter all the sympathy with James that Dundee and Balcarres had so carefully aroused and fostered. It must have been clearly evident to them that all their wit and wisdom would be sorely taxed to counteract the mischief. That they were not themselves entirely alienated from King James says much for their devoted loyalty; and their perseverance in the face of such a sudden blow bespeaks remarkable vitality and vigour.

The only course still open to Dundee was to leave Edinburgh and prepare to take strong measures in the Highlands, where by heredity and conviction the great number

¹ James's friend Ailesbury deplores this letter, "the style of which was very far from being gracious and sweet; and to cut his own throat" ("the expression," adds Ailesbury apologetically, "is a little harsh"), "he could find nobody to countersign but my Lord Melfort, a person abominated in that kingdom." ("Memoirs," vol. i., p. 250.)

² Balcarres (Bann. Club ed.), p. 28, and Fraser, "The Melvilles and the Leslies," vol. iii., p. 235.

³ John Macky's "Characters of the Nobility of Scotland," p. 244.

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of the chiefs were loyally attached to the old régime. Accordingly Dundee, Balcarres, and their few adherents, "now unanimously resolved to retire to Stirling," where by the royal permission they intended to call a Parliament.¹

The disaster of the King's letter had taken place on Saturday, March the 16th; and Dundee and Balcarres then arranged to leave Edinburgh on the following Monday, the Marquess of Atholl promising to accompany them. But on Monday morning the 18th, just as Balcarres and his following were about to start, and waiting only for Lords Atholl and Dundee, Atholl sent word demanding one more day's delay, to which—as the alliance of so powerful a nobleman was urgently desirable—Balcarres on his own responsibility consented. He suggested to his friends that to avert suspicion of their intended departure on the morrow they should all attend the Convention that morning. Just as they had agreed to this, up rode Dundee and Lord Livingstone, followed by some forty or fifty troopers, "expecting immediately to be gone." "Much surprised" to hear of the new plan, Dundee emphatically declined to countenance it.

"It was so evident his departure would give the alarm," says Balcarres, "that I used all the power I had with him to stay another day." Balcarres's powers of persuasion were, it may be believed, very considerable; the Duke of Marlborough afterwards declared him one of the most lovable of men, and he possessed in an unusual degree the art of making friends and keeping them. But Dundee, with a definite scheme of operations in his mind, was not to be persuaded, even by his friend Balcarres, into staying another hour in Edinburgh, much less a day; and as events soon proved he left the city only just in time.²

Telling Balcarres that he had promised to meet some

¹ Balcarres, pp. 28, 29.

² Lord Lindsay's Introduction to Balcarres's "Memoirs," p. xv. Balcarres had cause bitterly to repent having preferred his own opinion to Dundee's, for he was taken prisoner by order of the Duke of Hamilton and, as he says, "put into the common jail." He was afterwards transferred to Edinburgh Castle but was kept a prisoner till after Dundee's death. He remained always true to the Stuarts, and was at the battle of Sheriffmuir, fighting for "King James VIII." Born under a lucky star, he was pardoned by King George, and surviving to a ripe old age he died peacefully in his bed.

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friends and allies at a house outside the town, and could not disappoint them, he departed at the head of his small cavalcade of loyal gentlemen and soldiers, or, as Macaulay more picturesquely puts it, with "the Satans and Beelzebubs who had shared his crimes."¹

Down the Leith Wynd he rode, "and along the way called the Lang Gate" (where Princes Street now is), and as he rode by, the besieged Duke of Gordon—looking out through a telescope—saw him coming, and signalled that he wished to speak to him.² "Dundee halted his party over against the Castle near the West Kirk, and went by himself up to the Castle."³ He climbed the rock, and the Duke came out to a postern gate to talk with him.⁴

"What discourse his Grace the Duke of Gordon, and Dundee had together, is not known to many [says the 1714 Memoir] ; but 'tis evident from the consequences of Dundee's affairs in the Highlands, that if his Grace had left the government of the Castle to his Lieutenant-Governor Windrom, and gone to the Highlands with my Lord Dundee, and there raised his clans, it would have tended more to King James's interests. But [adds our author somewhat shrewdly] men of great estates don't like to run great hazards."⁵

This conversation could not take place unobserved, and in a few moments the Convention received the sensational news that Lord Dundee had climbed the rock and was calmly talking to the outlawed Duke "over the Castle wall."⁶ This, says Balcarres dryly, was regarded as "a crime of the highest nature," and an angry protest ensued. The Duke of Hamilton had hitherto shown due self-

¹ "History of England," vol. iii., p. 281 (ed. 1855).

² "Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh," p. 38.

³ "Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee" (1714), p. 22.

⁴ This interview of Dundee's with the besieged Duke created a sensation. It is mentioned in a letter written from Edinburgh a few days later (Cawdor Charter Chest) ; in the Minutes of the Convention ; by Lord Balcarres ; by Drummond of Balhaldie ; in the 1714 Memoir ; by the Rev. Thomas Morer ; and in the contemporary account of the siege, supposed to have been written by someone in the castle. ("Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh" (Bann. Club.), p. 38.)

⁵ "Memoirs of Lord Viscount Dundee," p. 22.

⁶ Minutes of the Convention, Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 11.

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command, but "like smothered fire, his natural temper" (says Balcarres) "now appeared in all its violence."¹ His Grace remarked that since Papists and enemies to the Government had become so bold as to confer openly together, and as he doubted not there were several members of the Convention present who would wish to uphold them, he was of opinion that the doors should be locked and the keys laid on the table; and that some trustworthy persons should be sent out immediately to beat the drums and assemble all those who were well affected to "religion and liberty." Anticipating trouble, "he had brought some Foot from the Western shires, which he offered to employ in the public cause. What he said was approved by all parties; several others likewise bragged of men they had brought to town, and magnified their numbers." The Earl of Leven was appointed to assemble them, and, when they were gathered together, never, remarks Balcarres scornfully, had there been seen "so contemptible a rabble."²

In the meantime, Dundee, the cause of all this commotion, had ridden away at the head of his faithful troopers. Tradition has it that as he turned his back on Edinburgh, and some well-wisher called out to him to ask whither he was going, he replied, waving his hat exultantly above his head, "Wheresoever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me"³; and then galloped away along the road to Stirling, never to return.

¹ Balcarres, p. 30.

² *Ibid.* p. 31.

³ Dalrymple, "Memoirs, etc.," vol. i., Part I., p. 287.

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Graham's abilities evidently did not step beyond warfare. . . . One thing is certain, his utter disregard of human life, his cruelty to his enemies, and his recklessness of the safety of his followers, would have prevented him from being a great British General, etc., etc.—
JOHN HILL BURTON, *History of Scotland*.

*He was a good Christian, an indulgent husband, an accomplished gentleman, an honest statesman, and a brave soldier; and as he had few equals among his countrymen in these first qualities, so he had no superior in this last.—*DRUMMOND OF BALHALDIE, *Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel*.

Chapter VIII: The Raising of the Standard, April, 1689

WHEN Dundee in quitting Edinburgh had peremptorily refused to wait a day or even stay one hour for Atholl or Balcarres, his plan of Highland operations must already have been worked out in his mind. Nothing is more contrary to common-sense than to assume (as some historians have done) that prior to the Revolution he "knew little and cared little about the Highlanders,"¹ but crossed the Grampians at a venture, ignorant of the country and the people, trusting merely in his lucky star. His campaign throughout shows clear signs of an intimate acquaintance with the military geography of northern Scotland. Moreover from internal evidence it seems most likely that the Highland chiefs, on whose assistance he relied, were in some instances at least his old acquaintances. Devoted admirer, even in his boyhood, of Montrose's marvellous career, what more natural than that he should early in life have sought out the company of men who in their youth had taken part in those campaigns by which Montrose had won a European reputation. To ride up to the Highlands from his home in Forfarshire would not have too severely taxed the capabilities of a strong enterprising boy, and his Highland kinsman, Cluny Macpherson, would no doubt have proffered him the ready hospitality so characteristic of the northern chieftain of the day. From a

¹ Macaulay, vol. iv., p. 342.

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military standpoint, Cluny's country was the strategic centre of the Highlands, commanding as it did the river valleys running north, east, south-east, and south. Claverhouse, born while Scotland was still suffering the pangs of civil strife, brought up to be familiar with the story of Montrose's exploits, would not have waited until March the 18th, 1689, to contemplate the possibility of once again employing Highland forces in the service of the King. If the boy is father to the man, he must have fought Montrose's battles often in imagination, and may even have visited the scenes of these renowned engagements. His promptitude of action during the campaign of 1689 suggests this inference, and it will be noticed that in his subsequent marches across Highland moors and mountains, by trackless forests, wild morasses and bleak wastes, his actions were all based upon an accurate and unerring estimate of the resources of the country. This is no less remarkable than his sympathetic insight into the personal characteristics and special qualifications of the valourous and warlike but undisciplined and headstrong men he was to lead to victory.

After he had ridden out of Edinburgh on March the 18th, the Duke of Hamilton despatched in quest of him a troop of horse, led by one Major Buntine of Kilbryde. "But," says Dundee's Standard-Bearer exultantly, "sooner would the mole seize the tiger, or the lark the merlin, sooner would the partridge assail the falcon or the doe pursue the hounds, than would that pitiful veteran dare to cross swords with such a man."¹

Hearing Dundee had halted at Linlithgow, the Convention issued pompous instructions to the heritors of the place to "draw together and dislodge" him, and a herald was ordered to proclaim that he, and Lord Livingstone who had gone with him, must return to Edinburgh within twenty-four hours, under pain of being branded traitors. Dundee nevertheless slept undisturbed at Linlithgow on the night of the 18th. Next morning (Tuesday the 19th) he and his forty or fifty horsemen rode through Stirling,² and—in spite of

¹ *Grameid*, p. 44.

² The idea of calling a Parliament at Stirling had been abandoned, probably owing

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urgent orders from Duke Hamilton to the municipal authorities to "call together the inhabitants" and with the aid of the garrison to "seize on the said Viscount of Dundee"¹—he crossed the Bridge of Stirling unmolested.

From Stirling it was an easy ride through friendly country to Dunblane, where Claverhouse and his followers were met by Alexander Drummond of Balhaldie, son-in-law to Cameron of Lochiel the famous Chief of the clan Cameron. It seems clear that this meeting had been prearranged; but we know nothing of what passed between the Highlander and Claverhouse, except that Lochiel's son-in-law brought to King James's General hearty reassurance as to the Highland loyalty in which he placed such firm reliance.² Lochiel, his strongest ally north of the Tay, was, of all his friends, the man whose temper and opinions were the most harmonious to his own. After a long, varied and distinguished career, Lochiel, then over sixty, was still young at heart, enthusiastic, vigorous—and formidable to his enemies. His affectionate respect for Claverhouse does credit both to Claverhouse's powers and to Lochiel's own penetration. History is silent as to their first meeting; perhaps it may have taken place while Claverhouse was still unknown to fame; or more probably in 1682 when Lochiel, after being knighted by H.R.H. the Duke of York, had spent some time at Court. Lochiel had started his adventures early in life. During the Civil War, his father being dead and his mother a Campbell of Glenurchy, he had been placed under the guardianship of no less a personage than Archibald, first Marquess of Argyll, Montrose's bitter enemy. A subordinate part, especially in an uncongenial Covenanting atmosphere, was not to the taste of the young Chief of the clan Cameron—who was moreover deeply impressed by the gallant bearing of the Royalist noblemen and gentlemen whom he saw perish on the scaffold—so at the age of eighteen he broke free from Argyll's control and went home to the Marquess of Atholl's hesitation, and the illness of the Earl of Mar, then Governor of Stirling Castle.

¹ Minutes of the Convention and Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., 1689. Napier, vol. iii., p. 520.

² Balhaldie, "Memoirs," p. 235.

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to Lochaber, where he was received with every demonstration of delight. To recount all his exploits would require the eloquence and fervour of a Highland bard ; but it must be mentioned that when Scotland had been conquered by the English under Monck and Cromwell, Lochiel still held out stubbornly, and when the Cromwellian Governor of Inverlochy sent 300 Englishmen to invade and lay waste his lands, he met them at the head of his Camerons and routed them with great slaughter.¹ When at last he did make peace with Cromwell, it was peace with honour.²

He was the beau-ideal of a Highlander ; brave, chivalrous, uncompromising, haughty and benevolent—benevolent, that is, to his friends and allies ; and, like every Highland chieftain, keenly zealous for the interests of his clan. Owning no superior except the King, he ruled in his own country with an autocratic hand, his clansmen paying willing homage. A soldier, a sportsman and a gentleman, of a type conspicuously contrasting with the servile politicians of his time, his was a character especially congenial to the “high, proud, peremptory” Dundee, whose suave contempt for fawning time-servers and pious humbugs shows clearly in so many of his utterances.

Inspired by promises of Highland aid, Claverhouse left Dunblane on March the 20th, and, with his following, rode post-haste to Dudhope, his castle just outside Dundee, a distance of some seventy miles. At Dudhope he stayed nearly three weeks, maturing his plans, anticipating the arrival of his commission as Lieutenant-General, and of the promised reinforcements, powder and supplies from James in Ireland.

The moment had not yet come for open defiance. Moreover, in addition to reasons of state for staying quietly at Dudhope, Dundee had private motives for his willingness not

¹ See Balhaldie, pp. 113-123 and pp. 130-132 for spirited accounts of Lochiel's skirmishes with the English. Professor Frith is of opinion that the importance of these encounters is overrated by Lochiel's grandson (“Scotland and the Protectorate,” p. xlii.), but the descriptions are very circumstantial and show conditions somewhat similar to those in which Montrose defeated regular troops unused to fighting against Highlanders.

² Balhaldie, pp. 147-152.

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to precipitate the outbreak of the war ; his wife was awaiting the birth of her first child.

The Duke of Hamilton, whose daughter was married to Lady Dundee's eldest brother, is likely to have known of the expected domestic event ; but he sent a trumpeter and herald demanding that "the Lord Viscount of Dundee" should lay down arms and return forthwith to Edinburgh, or else be outlawed as a traitor.

The instinctive and natural antipathy between Claverhouse and Hamilton had manifested itself on various occasions, and in the following letter Claverhouse's contempt is very thinly veiled by that sarcastic politeness which was so characteristic of him when he was stirred by anger or emotion :—

"DUDHOPE, *March 27, 1689.*

"May it please Your Grace,

"The coming of an herald and trumpeter to summon a man to lay down arms that is living in peace at home seems to me a very extraordinary thing, and, I suppose, will do so to all that hears of it. While I attended the Convention at Edinburgh, I complained often of many men being in arms without authority, which was notoriously known to be true,¹ even the wild hill-men ; and no summons to lay down arms under pain of treason being given them, I thought it unsafe for me to remain longer among them. And because a few of my friends did me the favour to convey me out of the reach of these murderers, and that my Lord Livingstone and several other officers took occasion to come away at the same time, this must be called being in arms. We did not exceed the number allowed by the Meeting of Estates ; my Lord Livingstone and I might have had each of us ten ; and four or five officers that were in company might have had a certain number allowed them,—which being [so], it will be found we exceeded not. I am sure it is far short of the number my Lord Lorne was seen to march with.² And, though I had gone away with some more than ordinary, who can blame me when designs of murdering me was made appear ? Besides it is known to everybody that before we came within sixteen miles of this, my Lord Livingstone went off to his brother my Lord Strathmore's house ;³ and most of the officers and several of the company went to their respective relations ; and if any of them did me the favour to come along with me, must this be called being in arms ? Sure, when your Grace represents this to the Meeting of the States, they will discharge such a groundless pursuit, and think my

¹ It was equally notoriously known that many of these men had been summoned from Clydesdale by the Duke of Hamilton himself.

² Probably the Argyllshire Highlanders brought to Edinburgh at this time. (Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 4.)

³ Glamis Castle. Lord Livingstone, eldest son of the Earl of Linlithgow, was half-brother to Patrick, Earl of Strathmore.

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appearance before them unnecessary. Besides, though it were necessary for me to go and attend the Meeting, I cannot come with freedom and safety, because I am informed there are men-of-war and foreign troops in the passage; and, till I know what they are, and what are their orders, the Meeting cannot blame me for not coming.

"Then, my Lord, seeing the summons has proceeded on a groundless story, I hope the Meeting of the States will think it unreasonable I should leave my wife in the condition she is in. If there be anybody that notwithstanding all that is said, thinks I ought to appear, I beg the favour of a delay till my wife is brought to bed; and in the meantime I will give security or parole not to disturb the peace. Seeing this pursuit is so groundless, and so reasonable things offered, and the Meeting composed of prudent men and men of honour, and your Grace presiding in it, I have no reason to fear further trouble.

"I am,

"May it please your Grace,

"Your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE."

"I beg your Grace will cause read this to the Meeting, because it is all the defence I have made. I sent another to your Grace from Dunblane, with the reasons for my leaving Edinburgh. I know not if it be come to your hand."¹

Knowing Dundee's feelings of scorn for the pretensions of "that worthy Prince, Duke Hamilton," as he sardonically called him,² one smiles at the ironical conclusion of this letter: Seeing that the Meeting is "composed of prudent men and men of honour, and your Grace presiding in it."

Whether Hamilton felt pricked by the sarcastic shaft we have no means of knowing; but on the following day, March the 28th, this letter was read to the Convention, and interpreted as a declaration of war. On Saturday, the 30th, the herald's services were again requisitioned, and Dundee was proclaimed a traitor with all the picturesque formalities of the time.³

"The zeal which some has to ruin others, and the ambition others has to raise themselves," writes Lady Erroll, make them "far outrun common measures of reason."⁴

¹ "Letters of Claverhouse" (Bann. Club), pp. 32-34 (reprinted from "The Case of the Present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland." London, 1690).

² Dundee to Melfort. Macpherson, "Orig. Papers," vol. i., p. 363.

³ "And he, being thrice called in the House, and at the great door, and not appearing, the Meeting of Estates do declare the said Viscount of Dundee fugitive and rebel. And ordained the heralds with sound of trumpet to denounce him at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh and at the Mercat Cross of the head burgh of the shire of Forfar where he lives." (March 30, 1689. Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 24.)

⁴ The Countess of Erroll to Dr Jas. Fraser. ("Spald. Club Miscell.," p. 194.)

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The Chancellor's sister, it will be observed, maintains a discreet reticence as to names, but her remark seems applicable enough to the Convention's omnipotent President, the Duke of Hamilton, who for many years had cherished an only partially dissembled grudge against Claverhouse.

It was at this inauspicious time—when Dundee's enemies were triumphant, and his loyalty to the fallen King had won for him the name of traitor—that the son and heir whose inheritance he had already imperilled made entry into a more than ordinarily stormy world. On April the 9th (the day appointed by the Convention “for a thanksgiving for deliverance from Popery and Slavery”) this child was baptised James—Montrose's name¹—and two days later William and Mary were declared King and Queen of Scotland, the herald for the occasion being no less a person than his Grace of Hamilton, who stood at the Market Cross of Edinburgh and read aloud to the populace the Act of the Convention proclaiming the new King.

Dundee's comment on the proclamation of William and Mary was to raise the Royal Standard for King James. This he did on his own sole responsibility. In the circumstances, lacking his promised commission, money, ammunition and supplies, the stroke was bold in the extreme; but one of the essential tests of a great man of action is this readiness to take responsibility—the moral valour to imperil life, and more than life, in hope of carrying out successfully some large design, some patriotic enterprise.

It is customary even now to talk of Lord Dundee's “rebellion”; but surely we should throw aside misleading phrases, look facts in the face, and frankly recognise that in his own esteem and the esteem of his supporters he was fighting for a type of monarchy which—though it may be now regarded with aversion—incorporated then for its adherents such cherished national traditions and ideas as are

¹ Register of Baptisms, Parish of Mains, near Dundee. Lord Dundee's brother David and his kinsman Major William Grahame of Balquhapple are cited as “witnesses.” As Lady Dundee (according to the *Grameid*) was able to share in the preparations for her husband's departure on or about April 16, it seems likely that the child would have been born at the end of March.

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or should be dearer to a patriotic mind than any merely personal gain or glory. Though our present age has rendered less than justice to this spirit as impersonated in Dundee, his own contemporaries were more discerning :

“The King being exiled, Religion and the Church overthrown, authority lost . . . the people demented,” the one man who dared to stand against the storm was Lord Dundee,

“an excellent patriot, of inviolate fidelity; the soul of courtesy and probity; prudent in counsel, prompt in execution, strong in war, pious in peace; always the same and consistent; in all things strenuous, noble and great; the terror, the hammer, the thunderbolt of fanaticism and treason.”

Such was Claverhouse, as seen by one whom we have reason to believe had known him ever since his boyhood at St Andrews.¹ Even in the form of a Latin epitaph, this tribute—paid after the death of its distinguished subject and consequent downfall of King James’s cause—breathes an emotion and sincerity which are impressive :

“More ardent for the welfare of his country than for his own happiness, more enamoured of duty than of profit and ease, he was animated by so burning a zeal, that—disregarding danger, despising riches, neglecting his loved ones, and scorning malice—he, with great daring, endeavoured to restore downtrodden things, and to redeem his country.”²

To this end, on April the 16th³ (1689), he flung down the gauntlet of defiance to the usurping government, and on the very top of the Law of Dundee—a little hill in full view of the town—attended by some two score faithful troopers from his own old regiment and various local gentry, he boldly “unfurled the Royal banner for the Northern War.”⁴

¹ George Martine of Clermont, only remembered now by scholars and bibliophiles. The public has long ceased to read his once-valued book on the antiquities of St Andrews.

² For original Latin, see transcript in Napier, vol. iii., App. IX., p. 736. So far as I know, this has never hitherto been translated.

³ Approximate date.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 49.

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The Standard-Bearer represents Lady Dundee as sympathising with her husband's gallant enterprise; and no doubt she looked out from the windows of the castle and with intense excitement watched the scarlet-coated horsemen gathering round the famous lion rampant *gules* on a field *or*—that hardy Scottish lion which has figured in so many desperate combats, and must always rouse exultant memories in any Caledonian who is not entirely devoid of patriotic pride.

Claverhouse, who during his last campaign exhibited in such a marked degree the gift of winning people to believe in him, is scarcely likely to have failed in firing his wife with confidence in the success of his bold undertaking. Yet she would have been strangely deficient in imagination if she had not faced the possibility of such a failure as had followed on Montrose's triumphs. As she watched her husband ride out to unfurl the Standard, surely she may have felt some shrinking premonition of the tragic sequel:

“The name, fame, and honour of the said Viscount of Dundee to be extinct, his blood to be tainted, his name to be riven forth and delett out of the Book of Arms, so that his posterity may never have place nor be able hereafter to enjoy any honours, offices, titles or dignities in any time coming.”¹

Such was the sentence to be pronounced after his untimely death. But, for the moment, the star of hope shone brightly; and Balhaldie tells us that no sooner was Dundee's intention of heading the Royalists divulged abroad than

“a spirit of loyalty diffused itself through the nation. The people were at first lulled asleep with a notion that the Prince of Orange designed nothing further by his invasion than to force King James to dismiss his Popish Counsellors, as he had declared in his manifesto; for they could not be persuaded that the King's own nephew and son-in-law would ever contrive his ruin. But as soon as their eyes were opened, they sent assurances to the Lord Dundee that they were all

¹ Acts of Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 62.

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ready to join him. And had that brave man outlived that glorious victory which his death rendered fatal to the party, the world would have been soon convinced how far the proceedings of the new patriots suited with the inclinations of the people.”¹

The news of Dundee's defiance soon reached Edinburgh, where measures were promptly taken to reduce him to submission ; and the General appointed to this task was Hugh Mackay of Scourie, in whose companionship some fifteen years ago, under the leadership of William, Prince of Orange, he had learnt the arts of war.

At the time of Argyll's rebellion and Monmouth's invasion in 1685, King James had demanded from his son-in-law the Prince of Orange the services of three of the Scoto-Dutch regiments. The rebellion, as it happened, was stamped out without their aid, but the King had complimented their commander, Mackay of Scourie, with a Privy Councillorship and with the rank of Major-General. Holland however was more congenial to Mackay than Scotland, and he went back promptly to the Netherlands, until the Revolution of 1688 when he returned to England in the train of the invader. On January the 14th, 1689, while Dundee was still in London, William and Mary had signed a warrant appointing Mackay “Major-General of all our forces whatever within our ancient Kingdom of Scotland” (“our ancient Kingdom,” though the Crown of Scotland was not offered them until three months later than the date of this commission).²

Before attempting to follow Mackay through the intricacies of the Highland campaign, we must remind ourselves that though he does not on this occasion cut a very brilliant figure it may well be doubted if among the supporters of the Revolution there was any other (except perhaps Lord

¹ Balhaldie, p. 276.

² Major-General Mackay was a younger son of Mackay of Scourie. Born about 1640 ; killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692. He succeeded to the Scourie estates on the death of his two elder brothers, but settled in Holland and married there. His descendants in the direct male line came to an end in 1775 on the death of his grandson, a Lieutenant-General in the Dutch service, and Colonel of the Scoto-Dutch Brigade which had formerly been commanded by Mackay himself.



*Lieutenant General Hugh Mackay of Scourie
from the Portrait in the possession of Lord Reay*

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Churchill) who in such circumstances could have done much better. Although Mackay is now remembered mainly as the man who ran away from Killiecrankie, yet with the exception of the Highland war his military career was creditable, and even distinguished ; and he died a soldier's death at Steinkirk three years after his defeat by Claverhouse. The excellence of his intentions, and the whole-heartedness of his devotion to "the Protestant interest"—at a time when the Protestant interest was too often a cloak for every species of rapacity and double-dealing—should be recollected in his favour ; and it is also to his credit that he was free from the amazing aptitude for treachery and the oblique views of political morality which stained so many of the chief men of his party. But it would be unreasonable to confound moral and intellectual worth, for with all his virtues it is very obvious that despite his many years experience of war he was ill-equipped to match himself against Dundee, who, gifted with a rare combination of originality, daring, wit and judgment, was further remarkable for a personal charm to which his adversary had no pretension. In birth Mackay had—or ought to have had—the advantage ; for whereas Dundee was a Lowlander, his rival came of an ancient Highland family. But in mind and character Mackay had more in common with his adopted brethren the Dutch than with his Gaelic countrymen, whom he contemptuously described as "rabble," and repeatedly misunderstood. His lack of comprehension of the Highland spirit and his evident dislike of Highlanders are nowhere more clear than in his own account of the campaign ; and his distressed bewilderment when plunged into conditions utterly unlike the type of warfare he had known in Flanders is almost piteous in its emphasis.

To fight in a pitched battle, against disciplined and well-clad troops ; to lay siege to a town, and either carry it by assault or stay and starve it into submission, and then go comfortably into winter quarters to await next season's operations—such was the art of war as understood abroad. Such was the school in which both Claverhouse and Mackay had been brought up ; and to Mackay it was most disconcerting to

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exchange these decorous achievements for the chasing of half-naked Highlanders through barren country in the bitterest of weather. Not only were the elements adverse, but with some few exceptions "Persons of Quality" north of the Tay proved scarcely less chilly than their climate; and Mackay, to his chagrin and shocked surprise, found most of those upon whose help he had relied showed none of the respect for the new Government which would have been becoming in men so recently "delivered from the greatest of all evils, temporal and eternal slavery."¹ During his "marches and progresses" he had cause frequently to bewail that neither the gentry nor the people had any "true sense of the deliverance which God had sent them."²

This deplorable state of affairs Mackay attributed partly to the ingrained barbarity of the Highlanders, and partly to the way "My Lord Dundee" had "played his personage" among these same benighted "savages." In this last respect his judgment was not at fault, for with an irregular army everything depends upon the leader's personality. In such an army, discipline is individual, enforced by the commander's strength, and by his strength alone; and he must have in him that dominating mental power which wins unqualified obedience. Intense vitality, an iron will, quick sympathies and vivid imagination—these were the attributes which had enabled Montrose to cheer his ragged half-starved followers to marvellous exertions; whilst Argyll—a Highland chieftain with a Highland army of far greater number and of equal courage—lacking the quality of leadership, had been defeated even in his own Highland fastnesses.

Dundee, brought up on stories of Montrose, now followed in his footsteps; and without ammunition, without supplies, without money (except his own personal resources, which cannot have been extensive), with tremendous odds against him, he set out to rouse the fervour of the North and raise a Highland army strong enough to stem the Revolutionary tide.

But before we follow him upon this arduous enterprise we

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 15.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

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must return to Major-General Mackay, who meantime had arrived at Leith and disembarked his men. His force was insignificant, because the three Scots regiments from Holland (his own, Colonel Ramsay's, and Brigadier Balfour's) had been so reduced in number by the taking away of many old Dutch soldiers from their ranks that they amounted only to 1100 men in all, instead of 1200 each.¹ To make them up again to their original number was Mackay's immediate object, and to this end he distributed money to beat up recruits, and also sent Lord Leven funds to raise another 780. The Convention resolved to levy 6000 Foot in ten regiments, twelve troops of Horse (600 men) and a regiment of 300 Dragoons. Commissions were freely distributed to various country magnates; but Mackay records ruefully how they, "being all noblemen of no service," chose their officers (in Scottish fashion) for personal liking or relationship rather than for military capacity, to the great detriment and "disorder of these troops."²

As the raising of the new regiments could not, of course, be compassed all at once, Mackay was obliged to start his operations with the very limited force at his disposal:

3 Scoto-Dutch Regiments of Foot	{ Major-General Mackay's Brigadier Balfour's ³ Colonel the Hon. George Ramsay's ⁴
Lieut.-Colonel Lauder's Regiment of Foot	
Lord Colchester's Regiment of Horse	
Sir Thomas Livingstone's Dragoons ⁵	

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," pp. 5 and 6.

² *Ibid.* p. 7.

³ Barthold Balfour, a member of a Scots family which for several generations had attained distinction in the Dutch army. Appointed Brigadier-General, March 1, 1689. Killed at the battle of Killiecrankie, July 27, 1689.

⁴ The Hon. George Ramsay, second son of the second Earl of Dalhousie. He is described by a contemporary as "a gentleman with a great deal of fire, and very brave." He tried to obtain Dundee's forfeited estates, but they fell to the lot of the Marquis of Douglas, brother of the Duke of Hamilton. Ramsay in 1702 became Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish Army, and died in 1705.

⁵ Sir Thomas Livingstone was born in Holland, 1652. Elder son and heir of Sir Thomas Livingstone of Newbiggin, who was created a Baronet by Charles II. and was Colonel of Foot in the Dutch Service. Came to England with William of Orange as colonel of a regiment of Foot, and was (on December 31, 1688) appointed Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Scots Dragoons (now Scots Greys) in place of the Earl of

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Mackay, distrusting Lord Mar, the Governor of Stirling Castle, sent Livingstone with the Dragoons to pay him a visit and report his attitude ; and thence he ordered Livingstone to Angus, Claverhouse's shire.

Mackay was then in Edinburgh, and he selected Perth, Dundee and Stirling as his bases of operation. The plans he made were (as will shortly be observed) by no means unintelligent ; but they were destined to be set at naught because he had not calculated on the speed and promptness of his adversary.

King William's General relates how, after Dundee's most "disrespectful" and "uncivil" letter to Duke Hamilton had been read out in the Convention, it was resolved to send Sir Thomas Livingstone with the Dragoons to Forfarshire, to stop the "forming of a party" by "My Lord Dundee," and to surprise his cavalry and seize upon his person, thus early putting an end to any possibility of war.¹

The information given to Mackay and Livingstone must have been signally misleading, for they imagined Lord Dundee still in the Lowlands when "towards the 20th April" bold Sir Thomas (now best remembered for his infamous connection with the Glencoe massacre) "formed a design" to seize Dundee at his country house, Glenogilvy (three miles from Glamis).² But though Sir Thomas and the Dragoons went forth at night, and were—as they imagined—"very well and secretly led on,"³ they found this "pleasant and well-planted" place, Glenogilvy, deserted. Claverhouse and his horsemen had ridden away—"with loosened rein, through the vales towards the mountains"⁴—past Kirrie-

Dunmore who remained faithful to King James. Livingstone's chief fame (or infamy) is his connection with the massacre of Glencoe. He succeeded Mackay as Commander-in-Chief in Scotland ; was a Privy Councillor ; Major-General on the English Establishment, January 1, 1696 ; created Viscount Teviot, December 4, 1696. Died in London, January 14, 1711, aged sixty, without male heirs. The viscounty then became extinct and the baronetcy devolved on his brother, Sir Alexander Livingstone. (Almack, "Historical Records of the Royal Scots Greys," pp. 218-219.)

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," pp. 7 and 119.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* pp. 8 and 119.

⁴ *Grameid*, pp. 50-59.

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muir, over the North Water Bridge, *en route* for the Highlands.¹

On the failure of this "misluckt design"² Mackay began to think it necessary to take the field himself against his old comrade in arms; and (as he expresses it), fearing the consequences of allowing Claverhouse to "play his personage among the nobility and gentry of the north," he aspired to intercept him before he could have time to reach the northern fastnesses.

Having previously chosen out 120 of the best men of Lord Colchester's Regiment and sent them to the town of Dundee, accompanied by 200 firelocks selected from the Scoto-Dutch troops, Mackay now instructed Lord Mar to be on the watch for Claverhouse and intercept him if he tried to pass through his domain. To Grant of Grant, then in Edinburgh, he sent an urgent order to return to his own country and see that his clansmen guarded the fords across the Spey.

This Ludovic Grant of Grant, Sheriff of Inverness, was the most influential of Mackay's few Highland allies. Claiming descent from the Norse god Woden, and being actually descended from a Grant who had been Sheriff of Inverness in the days of Alexander III., his family since the thirteenth century had been personages of considerable importance in the province of Moray, and they had been settled since the year 1400 at Castle Grant, a formidable stronghold facing southwards to the forest of Abernethy, eastward to the plains of Cromdale and the River Spey, and north and west towards an irregular range of hills which formed a line of natural defence.³

Mackay had reason to anticipate that Claverhouse would go north either by Strathspey, Strathbogie or Blair Atholl, and accordingly he wisely planned to have command of all three districts. He knew the Gordons in Strathbogie were incorrigible Jacobites, and so he ordered the Master of

¹ See Itinerary and Map A.

² Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 8.

³ The present Grantown, two miles west of the castle, did not exist in Claverhouse's day.

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Forbes—who had “a pretty command of men” and was “no friend” to the Duke of Gordon—to hasten northward to Druminnor Castle and exert himself to exercise a counter-influence and “overturn Dundee’s persuasions.”¹ Finally, in case both Grant and Forbes should fail to intercept the fugitive, Lord Atholl was to give instructions that 400 of his people should await Dundee and capture him if he succeeded in penetrating as far north as Blair—“which proposition,” says Mackay, “the Marquess relished well.”²

It was Mackay’s misfortune that he had little capacity for wakening zeal in his associates. Grant dawdled in Edinburgh; Forbes—a “young youth”—was not superlatively strenuous; and Lord Mar, in failing health, had neither strength nor inclination to bestir himself. Nor moreover did the recruiting make good progress; it would appear as if the new cause was unpopular; and the unfortunate Mackay, in pardonable wrath, asserted afterwards that if he had only had at his command 2000 well-trained men he would have foiled Dundee during the very prologue to the war. So he believed; though actually he could have done no such thing, unless he had matured his plans at least a fortnight earlier. But he was so ill-served by his scouts that he complacently left Edinburgh in hope to catch Dundee at Fettercairn, not knowing that this dashing leader with his cavalcade was already well across the Grampians.

We can follow the subsequent events in General Mackay’s own Memoirs, but even there we follow them imperfectly, for such a signpost as a date is of the utmost rarity, and seldom has any soldier ever written in such floundering fashion. His pompous and involved long sentences, his cumbrous phraseology, unwieldy explanations and verbose excuses, all render him a most exasperating writer. Re-

¹ Forbes was eldest son of the eleventh Lord Forbes. Mackay elsewhere refers to him somewhat quaintly as “a young youth” whom he “hoped to make useful to the service, though as yet bashful before his enemy, never having seen any.” (“Memoirs,” p. 42.) Forbes’s headquarters, Druminnor Castle, on the banks of the burn of Kearn in the parish of Auchindoir, was said to have been the original Castle Forbes built in 1456; and the Lords Forbes were possessed of great local influence.

² Mackay’s “Memoirs,” pp. 7-8.

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membering the dictum that *Le style c'est l'homme*, we scarcely marvel at the ill-success of this well-meaning but most tedious personage. Such is the literary judgment, but the broader vision of the man of action may find some sympathy for hapless mediocrity thus matched against real genius in the art of war, and therefore doomed to failure.

Having left the command in Edinburgh to Balfour—pending the arrival of Sir John Lanier, Colonel of the Queen's Dragoons—Mackay made his way via Dundee, the new “rendez-vous of his party,” up to Brechin. Thence he reached Fettercairn, only to find no traces of the enemy. Whether Claverhouse had gone north by Strathdee and Braemar into Glenshee—whence he could again swoop down on Forfarshire—or whether by some other route into the Highland fastnesses, there seemed at first no means of learning.

However, King William's General had money, and well understood the use of it, and so by means of bribery he drew forth “sure intelligence” that Lord Dundee had gone up towards the Gordon country of Strathbogie.

Before we plod northwards with Mackay, we must describe the progress of his adversary since he had left Glenogilvy and crossed the bridge over the North Esk near Fettercairn.

The Standard-Bearer recounts how Claverhouse and his small cavalcade pressed on “over the rugged heights of the Cairn o' Mount,” across the Dee, past Kincardine O'Neill, to Keith, where they had arrived a few hours after Mackay was planning to surprise them in Glenogilvy.¹

From Gordon Castle (Bog of Gight) Claverhouse sent despatches to King James relating that he was bound for Inverness, and was “encouraging all persons to stand out, letting them see by his example there was no danger in it.”²

“Fair Gordon Castle, with its lofty battlements and towers,

¹ See Itineraries and Map A.

² Hay's report (Nairne Papers, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 353). It was at Gordon Castle in 1645 that Montrose's eldest son, a promising boy of sixteen, had died after a few days' illness, worn out by the hardships he had undergone.

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we soon leave behind us [says the Standard-Bearer], and ferry the surging current of the rapid Spey. Elgin with its towering roofs and noble fane, we pass, and ford the Lossie with its yellow sands, to rest at last amid the sweet fields of Forres.”¹

At Forres (according to the Standard-Bearer) Claverhouse had word that the Dragoons, then quartered in Dundee, and nominally reconciled to the new order of affairs, were really loyal at heart to King James. Accordingly he thought of turning south at once to pay a flying visit to Dundee with his small force, that these Royal Scots Dragoons might have a chance to join him ; but he abandoned this idea on learning, by an intercepted letter from Mackay to Forbes, that General Mackay himself would spend “that night” (the 25th or 26th of April) in Dundee, where he had now in garrison not only the Scots Dragoons and Colonel Lauder’s Foot, but reinforcements of an English regiment of Horse and also another couple of hundred Foot. The letter further indicated that King William’s General intended to set out on the morrow to pursue his adversary.²

But, says the Standard-Bearer, “fierce in arms and subtle in art was Dundee ; not unskilled in meeting the strategy of an enemy.”³ He doubled back to Cairn o’ Mount and waited until Mackay was within eight miles of him ; then (April the 30th) he crossed the Dee at Birse with his force, sped past Aboyne, through the woods and over the mountains of Cromar, over the Don, past Kildrummie Castle, and past his enemy Forbes’s ancient stronghold of Druminnor, to Huntly Castle in Strathbogie, where, in the friendly country of the Gordons, he could safely spend the night.⁴

¹ *Grameid*, p. 51. Dundee must have halted at Coxton Tower, two miles east of Elgin, as he dates from there (April 24) a letter to Mackintosh of Mackintosh. (Fraser-Mackintosh, “Letters of Two Centuries,” p. 119.)

² Dates uncertain. It appears from other evidence as if Mackay did not leave Dundee for the Highlands until the 28th or 29th. See *Itineraries*.

³ *Grameid*, p. 51.

⁴ Huntly Castle, now a ruin, is said to date from the time of the Strathbogie Earls of Atholl of the thirteenth century. It was burnt in 1594, and rebuilt in 1602 by the first Marquess of Huntly. (It must not be confounded with the other Gordon stronghold, Gordon Castle, Bog of Gight.)

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But "no sooner did the morrow's golden rays brighten the east" on May the first "than the harsh clang of the trumpet sounded to horse"¹; and through Keith the gallant cavalcade rode back to Gordon Castle, where, "by the head-long waters of the Spey," Lord Dunfermline with a body of gay Gordons joined the "new Phoenix risen from the ashes of Montrose."²

Dunfermline—James Seton, the fourth and last Earl, "middle-sized, well-favoured, high-nosed,"³ then in his forty-seventh year—was brother-in-law to the Duke of Gordon. Like Claverhouse and Mackay, his school of war had been in the Low Countries, and his former leader was the Prince of Orange; but he was an ardent Jacobite, and during the campaign of 1689 he was one of Dundee's most faithful, constant and determined followers.

The Gordons, who in Montrose's day had been uncertain and capricious, seem to have given Claverhouse unqualified allegiance. Apparently the forty or fifty who joined him under Lord Dunfermline were only the advance-guard, for evidently he relied on the entire Gordon country.⁴

Lord Dundee "who loved always to be in action," after increasing his troop of horsemen with these two score or more of Gordons, speeded onwards, across the Spey, through Elgin and Forres, to the "noble Castle of Darnaway," and thence past Auldearn (the scene of one of Montrose's greatest victories) to Inverness. He had previously sent an express to Lochiel to inform him of the state of affairs, and had in return received renewed assurances of a warm welcome in Lochaber. Macdonald of Keppoch was deputed by Lochiel to meet him at Inverness with a following of 700 men, some Camerons and some his own Macdonalds.

¹ *Grameid*, p. 53.

² *Ibid.* p. 40.

³ Evidence given during his trial, Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 56.

⁴ The only reference to his visit to Gordon Castle which has come to light among the MSS. there is a list of the Duke's horses "taken out of the Castle by the late Earl of Dunfermline, from Charles Innes, of Drumgesk, His Grace's Gentleman of the Horse, and William Gordon the Groom, in 1689." Then are enumerated a dozen horses with their respective values, one of them called "Cumberland" priced at a hundred guineas. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. I, p. 115.)

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Claverhouse, expecting this Highland reinforcement, seems to have laid his plans so as to lure Mackay to follow him; and his meeting with Keppoch was to be the first scene of the Highland war to which the raising of the Standard was the prologue.

After riding cross-country over a desolate waste of moorland—and skirting Culloden, where in the following century so many gallant Highlanders were doomed to die “for Scotland and Prince Charlie”—the cavalcade on May the 1st came within sight of Inverness. The Standard-Bearer shall describe what happened then.

“Quickly Dundee gives the rein and applies the spur. He stopped at length in sight of the town . . . and beheld with glad eyes the bands gathered on every side. To meet him advances, amid the cheering troopers, the bold Macdonald of Keppoch, a man whom the love of plunder would impel to any crime. From his shoulder hung the tartan plaid, and he carried a shield studded with brazen knobs.”¹

“A gentleman of good understanding,” and of “great cunning,” the Chief of Keppoch was accustomed to “indulge himself in too great liberties with respect to those with whom he was at variance,”² and unfortunately at this time he had personal affairs which interested him more vitally than any public service. “The thirst for booty alone, and not for glory, had drawn him out against the enemy.”³ Arriving at Inverness on April the 28th this Highlander had “sat down before the town, seized the magistrates and most wealthy citizens, and obliged them to pay him a sum of money for their ransom before he consented to dismiss them.”⁴ He had also taken the opportunity of plundering some adjacent lands belonging to his hereditary foe Mackintosh of Mackintosh, “which,” says Hay’s report, “Mackintosh in a manner deserved,

¹ *Grameid*, pp. 54 and 55.

² *Balhaldie*, pp. 236-237.

³ *Grameid*, p. 55.

⁴ *Balhaldie*, p. 237.

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because the Viscount [Dundee] had written twice to him to declare for the King and had got no return.”¹

Mackintosh's mother was a Graham of Edzell, on the strength of which Dundee had written to him persuasively as his “affectionate cousin”²; but, like Cluny Macpherson, he was more cautious than quixotic, and was principally conspicuous for his dexterity in sitting on the fence.

The enmity between the Mackintoshes and Macdonalds must be borne in mind, for we shall hear of it again.

What with plundering the Mackintoshes and bullying the citizens of Inverness, the Chief of Keppoch seems to have been in his element. Of subordination, discipline, co-operation, or of any civilised rule of war, he obviously had no notion; and great must have been his astonishment when Lord Dundee “expostulated the matter with him in very sharp terms,” telling him plainly that instead of advancing the King's interests and “acquiring the character of a patriot,” he would be looked on as a “common robber,” and an enemy of all mankind.³

Keppoch—who hitherto had owned no law but his own inclinations, and had felt no patriotic zest except a chief's affection for his clan—seems to have been amazed by this rebuke. It must have been a most dramatic scene; the Highland filibuster and his 700 swaggering men, all drunk with love of plunder, confronted by the self-controlled, austere and iron-handed Claverhouse, who, with no more than four or five score sabres at his back, unhesitatingly assumed an air of mastery towards Keppoch and his 700. What Keppoch would have said and done had any other Lowland nobleman presumed to rate him in this scornful peremptory manner may be readily imagined; but in this case he attempted to excuse himself, pretending the town of Inverness had owed him money equal to the sums he had just wrung from the affrighted citizens.

His Camerons and Macdonalds were loaded with spoil;

¹ Nairne Papers, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 353.

² Fraser-Mackintosh, “Letters of Two Centuries,” p. 119.

³ Balhaldie, p. 237.

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even the offered prospect of a fight had no allurements for them in comparison to the immediate joy of bearing home their plunder; so the upshot of all this was that the ill-conditioned Keppoch, instead of attending on Dundee, retreated in a huff, with his disorderly and lawless following, and left King James's General to pacify the outraged burghesses of Inverness.

This was a disconcerting start, but it was in times of difficulty and discouragement that Dundee invariably displayed an added vigour. As he had written long ago to Lord Menteith, "*Tam mala Pompeii quam prospera mundus adoret*," and certainly his precept and his practice were at one.

"As a rock amid the billows repels the onslaughts of the sea," says the enthusiastic Standard-Bearer, "so Dundee, surrounded by enemies, stood firm. . . . Yet is he grieved to lose so great an opportunity of giving battle to the enemy."¹

Foiled thus by the lawless violence of Keppoch and his turbulent followers, the wise strategic move was to fall back south-west along the shores of Loch Ness, and make for Badenoch and Lochaber. Then (as will subsequently be detailed) the next stroke was to be a bold one—startling and offensive—but in the meantime it was impossible to face Mackay and his new reinforcements.

Staying a week in Inverness, Dundee soothed the ruffled citizens, telling them Keppoch had no warrant from him to be in arms against the King's loyal subjects, or to plunder them; and he offered to give his bond that at the Restoration of King James the 4000 marks extracted by the marauding Highlander should be repaid.

After these reassurances, on May the 8th at daybreak Claverhouse and his cavalcade rode away, "not without praise,"² and were lost to sight along the shores of Loch Ness.

Meantime Mackay, after crossing the Dee at Kincardine (April 30th), had received "certain news of the enemy" from the Master of Forbes, who joined him next day with forty Forbeses, and five or six hundred "country Foot." Having

¹ *Grameid*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*

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no confidence in any soldier who was not "dressed like a cockatoo and drilled to stand like a ramrod,"¹ King William's General thought the newly raised Foot so raw and so ungainly that he scorned their aid and plodded on without them.

Arriving in Strathbogie, and hearing that Dundee had recrossed the Spey ahead of him, he resolved, as he tells us, to pursue so rapidly as to prevent his brilliant enemy having time to "draw to his party, by his cunning, such as had not declared themselves."

While on the march, he learned from the perturbed magistrates of Elgin that they had received a letter from Lord Dundee, bidding them make ready to accommodate his cavalry, and some 900 or 1000 Highlanders. Mackay, on receipt of this news, kept his "Horse and Dragoons at the trot for seven miles" that he might enter the town first and be ready to give Dundee and the Highland force a hot reception. He also sent out orders to all the landowners in the surrounding country "to appear with their best horses and arms"; but he records disconsolately that they were not so pleased with the change in the Government "as might reasonably have been expected," and their assistance was insignificant.

Mackay's haste to reach Elgin proved in vain, for the enemy and his 1000 Highlanders did not appear. Mackay was duly disappointed, but great was the relief of the magistrates of Elgin, who had been puzzled to think how they could feed so many "hungry guests."

It seems a reasonable conjecture that Dundee's message to the Mayor, unless sent prior to the Keppoch episode, was a ruse to lead Mackay into believing he would advance to meet him; and if so it was successful, for Mackay had pushed on hurriedly, each day's march taking him farther from his base and his supports. He feared lest Dundee should make himself master of Inverness, as well as of Elgin, Moray, Ross and Caithness, which were all ill-affected to the new régime. It was in hope of foiling Claverhouse in this that he had de-

¹ Lord Wolseley, "Life of Marlborough," vol. i., p. 274. The phrase is applied to Monmouth, but it equally suits Mackay.

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cided to press on. He relied upon assistance from the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, and Ross of Balnagowan; also he could depend on Grant of Grant, who met him at Elgin and undertook to raise his clan in arms. Lord Reay (kinsman of General Mackay, and head of his family) was a child at this time¹; but a couple of hundred men were to be raised in his name under "two principal gentlemen" of the clan.

With the prospect of these supplementary forces, and with an immediate reinforcement of four score English Horse, on Wednesday, May the 8th, Mackay marched out of Elgin. He reached Inverness that afternoon, only to find that the elusive Dundee with his bold cavalcade had ridden away early the same morning, no man could say whither.

To Grant of Grant, and also Lord Strathnaver (Lord Sutherland's son and heir, who happened to be brother-in-law to Claverhouse's wife), Mackay sent orders to levy the promised regiments and arm them with Highland weapons. He summoned, moreover, the Mackenzies of Seaforth and the Frasers of Lovat, but found them either hostile or indifferent; and, being doubtful how far he could depend on Highland help, he sent an express to Colonel Balfour (then commanding the southern forces) to pick 600 men out of the three Dutch regiments and despatch them under Colonel Ramsay by the shortest route to Badenoch.

Meanwhile Dundee and his small force of cavalry had pressed on rapidly, "by rock and mountain," from Loch Ness, through Stratherrick, past Glengarry's stronghold Invergarry Castle, on the thickly wooded and precipitous north bank of Loch Oich. Thence, over "rugged ways" to the Kirk of Kilcummin (now Fort Augustus), where, at the bidding of Montrose, the Highland chiefs had signed the famous Bond in which they swore to defend the King and to be true to him and to each other.

In this Bond are to be seen the names of Maclean of Duart, Maclean of Lochbuie, Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald of Glengarry, the Captain of Clanranald, the Tutor of Struan, the Tutor of Lochiel, Stuart of Appin, and

¹ He subsequently married Mackay's daughter.

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various Macgregors, Macphersons, Gordons, Grants, Macdonalds and Mackenzies.¹

It was to their sons and grandsons that Dundee was about to appeal, relying upon those forces of heredity so strong in every Scotsman, and strongest of all among the Highlanders.

At Kilcummin Dundee stayed one night, May the 8th, and then went on, by the Pass of Corryarrick, across the Spey, through the country of Cluny Macpherson. He did not, however, halt for the night at Cluny, but at the farm of Presmukerach² on the Truim, between Cluny and Dalwhinnie, where he was the guest of Malcolm Macpherson of Breakachie, forester in Badenoch to the Duke of Gordon.³

"Thence," says the Standard-Bearer, the King's General "issued the Royal letter to all the faithful clans, bidding them be ready with their men by the Kalends of May,"⁴ or, to be more precise, by May the 18th, when they were to meet him in Lochaber with their respective followings.

The following morning, Friday, May the 10th, he started off again, this time to speed across the Grampians, past Loch Garry, through "dense woods of hazel" to the castle of Blair Atholl. There he was warmly welcomed by Patrick Steuart of Ballechin, the very man who, according to Mackay's plan of campaign, ought to have taken him prisoner and handed him over to the new Government.

In the loyal Atholl country—loyal to King James despite the adverse attitude of its all-powerful Lord Marquess—Claverhouse could have stayed in security and waited further developments. But he was in urgent need of arms and ammunition.

Accordingly he thought fit to supply the want, and in this he took example by Montrose, his master in the art of war, who, after reaching Blair Atholl and raising the Royal Standard on the hill of Lude, had been impelled by want of ammunition and supplies to swoop down suddenly on Perth

¹ Napier, "Memoirs of Montrose," vol. ii., p. 478.

² *Grameid*, pp. 57 and 58.

³ Fraser-Mackintosh, "Letters of Two Centuries," p. 119.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 58.

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in hope of capturing what he required. Outside Perth Montrose with his 300 Highlanders had met the Covenanting force of over 7000; and these, including 700 Horse, he routed on the plains of Tippermuir, although his men were so ill-armed they had recourse to hurling enormous stones upon the disconcerted and embarrassed enemy. This was the first of his most brilliant series of successful actions; and it struck horror into the hearts of well-trained soldiers to discover that the "Highland rabble," without the help of Horse or of Artillery, could scatter their most solid troops.

Dundee had not yet gathered together his promised Highland following, but none the less he was resolved to make a raid on Perth, for there it was that Blair of Blair¹ and Pollok of Pollok, two active and influential country magnates, were drilling one of the newly levied regiments of Horse.² What more opportune than to dash down and interrupt them, take Blair and Pollok captive, and carry off all available arms, ammunition and supplies, and public money. What more desirable than to surprise not only Perth but Dundee; for in Dundee we must remember were then quartered the two troops of Scots Dragoons whose Lieutenant-Colonel, William Livingstone, had sworn to bring his men to Claverhouse's standard so soon as he could find the opportunity.³

The advantage of having beguiled Mackay and his forces to Inverness was that Claverhouse thus could the more easily strike his line of communications at Dunkeld, Perth and Dundee; a bold offensive move which, if successful, could not but have an excellent moral effect.

Whether it would be possible to take possession of Dundee would depend entirely on the co-operation of the Dragoons; but in any case a flying visit to the Lowlands was justified by

¹ William Blair, of Blair Castle, Ayrshire. He married Lady Margaret Hamilton, daughter of the second Duke of Hamilton.

² Robert Pollok (younger) of Pollok Castle, Renfrewshire. Blair's and Pollok's troops formed the nucleus of the famous regiment now known as the 7th (Queen's Own) Hussars. (Lady Tullibardine, "*Milit. Hist. of Perthshire*," p. 22.)

³ This Livingstone, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Dragoons, is not to be confounded with the Colonel, Sir Thomas Livingstone, of Glencoe fame. William Livingstone remained Jacobite to the end, and fought at Sheriffmuir. See Appendix IV.

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the most honourable precedent—that of Montrose himself. Accordingly King James's General set out at once upon his dashing enterprise, with a gallant band of mounted men, chiefly Gordons from Strathbogie and troopers from his own old regiment. He did not take with him above seventy in all, but, in affairs of this kind, spirit and daring count far more than numbers.

Accordingly, in the early morning of May the 10th, Claverhouse and his seventy Horse swooped down upon Dunkeld, dashed in at the western gate, and there encountered "the captain of a hostile troop who had been gathering the revenues of the district."¹ On behalf of King James, this startled official was relieved of the dues he had collected for King William. Then Claverhouse called a halt that his men and horses might conserve their energies for the important enterprise.

No sooner had the sun set than he was again on the road. Marching by starlight, he arrived in Perth in the small hours of Saturday morning, while the burgesses were sleeping off the effects of a municipal banquet of the previous night. When those worthies awakened, they found Lord Dundee and his seventy sabres in possession of the town.² Blair and Pollok were taken in their beds; and when they expostulated Dundee cut short their protestations, saying, "You take prisoners for the Prince of Orange, and we take prisoners for King James, and there's an end of it."³ (It will be remembered that the prisoners taken for the Prince of Orange included Dundee's old friend and junior officer Balcarres.) Not only Blair and Pollok, but all the troopers and several officers of the new regiments, were captured, with their trumpets and standards. Though strictly prohibiting any interference with private property, Dundee took possession of

¹ *Grameid*, p. 59.

² Evidence of Lieutenant James Colt, one of Dundee's prisoners. The Provost of Perth in his letter to the Convention augments the invading force to "120 horses or thereby." See also Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 12, App. VIII., for a letter written from Perth on the day of Dundee's raid. In this Dundee's force is rated at eighty or ninety Horse.

³ Colt's evidence, Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 54.

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such public money as he could find.¹ Having speedily accomplished his object he gathered his men together without further loss of time, and before noon he and his cavalry had ridden out of Perth.

Outside Perth he stopped to dine at Scone Palace, with a most unwilling host, Lord Stormont,² who—being particularly anxious to keep clear of political entanglements, and, above all, to avoid any semblance of Jacobitism—must have felt peculiarly embarrassed when Dundee rode up the avenue attended by his ardent cavaliers.

Stormont afterwards assured the Convention that he had entertained King James's General much against his will and ought not to be held responsible; but this excuse was regarded by the Lords of the Convention as mere quibbling; and so not only the unlucky Stormont but also his uncle and father-in-law, who happened to be staying with him at the time, were—to their intense annoyance—branded as adherents of Dundee.

Having come from Presmukerach to Dunkeld on the previous day, and then spent the night marching to Perth, the early morning capturing men and money, and the remainder of the day on the march again, we may assume that Dundee must have been glad to dine well, even if in somewhat unexhilarating company. After dinner he went on to Stobhall Castle³ on the left bank of the Tay, about eight miles up the river from Perth.⁴ This stronghold was

¹ "He [Dundee] seemed to have no base ends in resisting the present Government, but only (as he said) for conscience and loyalty's sake. And by virtue of this principle it was that when he surprised Perth he suffered not the least violence or damage to be done the town, and finding £500 in the Collector of the Revenue's room, besides what belonged to the King, he did not touch it, but said he intended to rob no man, though what was the Crown's he thought he might make bold with, seeing what he was doing was purely to serve his master." ("Short Account of Scotland," p. 99, by the Rev. T. Morer, chaplain to the Queen's Dragoons [now King's Dragoon Guards], quartered in Edinburgh in 1689.)

² David, fifth Viscount Stormont, son of David, fourth Viscount, by his wife Lady Mary Ker, daughter of the first Earl of Roxburgh, and widow of (1) James Haliburton of Pitcur, and (2) of James Carnegie, second Earl of Southesk.

³ Claverhouse's ancestress, Queen Annabella, wife of Robert III., was one of the Drummonds of Stobhall.

⁴ Dundee was joined at Stobhall by Major Middleton, who some weeks later was the bearer of the dispatch to King James in Ireland announcing the victory of Killiecrankie.

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the home of the Chancellor Perth, who at the moment was a prisoner in Stirling Castle. At Stobhall Dundee halted for the night. Next day (May 12) from the Kirk of Cargill he sent out to scour the surrounding country for taxes which were taken "in the name of the Exchequer."¹ Then, "when night had settled down upon the sky, and all things were finding repose," says the Standard-Bearer, "the wakeful Grahame quickly arms and mounts, and calls up his men with trumpet sound. They soon gather around, big men yet taking the saddle at a bound,"² and, cheerfully following their leader, ride by Cupar Angus and Meigle, till in the early morning of May the 13th they see the "smoking chimneys" of Glamis, with its "lofty porticoes" and "superb turrets."³ Here, "on the green grass," Dundee rested "his wearied limbs," while he sent out "in the King's name, light troopers to collect the revenues." They soon returned, bringing with them horses, money and arms; and shortly afterwards Dundee was joined by his cousin, Haliburton of Pitcur⁴ (whom the Standard-Bearer enthusiastically describes as "the foe of Dutchmen," and "the flower of nobles"), by Fullerton of Fullerton, and another "eager" ally, Venton by name,⁵ "all in high spirits, all illustrious in arms."

Claverhouse, believing he could rely on the co-operation of the Scots Dragoons then quartered in Dundee, advanced towards that town at about five o'clock in the afternoon (May the 13th); and as news came of his approach, the inhabitants barricaded the streets and barred and blocked the gates. The Standard-Bearer narrates how Claverhouse, having donned breastplate, backpiece and helmet, rode forth,

¹ *Grameid*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 64. The Bishop of Dunkeld, then living at Meigle, was denounced by Lord Rollo for entertaining Lord Dundee and praying for King James. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 14, App. III., p. 117.)

⁴ Dundee's maternal grandmother, Lady Northesk, was Magdalen, daughter of Sir James Haliburton of Pitcur. According to the evidence given in connection with Dundee's forfeiture (Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., Appendix), it seems to have been at Stobhall that Pitcur joined Dundee.

⁵ Canon Murdoch suggests that this is meant for "Fenton of Ogil, a property not far from Fullerton's near Kirriemuir."

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“surrounded by a brilliant staff of horsemen,” and struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, who feared lest he should “fire the town and put the inhabitants to the sword.”

As the place was strongly fortified, and could have been defended against a large army, we may assume the Standard-Bearer is indulging in poetic licence ; but that the confusion was considerable is undoubtedly the case, and it is very possible that some of the inhabitants may have got out their “rusty” swords and drained “deep cups of liquor.”¹ It is, however, certain, that Dundee, in order to give the Dragoons a chance of coming out to join him, formed up his troop in front of the town, and we may believe the Standard-Bearer when he says “it was a sight fair to see.”

According to Hamilton’s commands, Lord Dundee was to be “seized” and delivered dead or alive to Mackay and his colleagues ; but no one seemed inclined to seize him. Lord Rollo, who with great difficulty had been raising a troop for the new Government, and who had no wish to have it scattered as Blair and Pollok’s troops had been,² was all for staying safely within the city walls. Captain Balfour, who should have availed himself of this opportunity to capture the enemy, judged it too great a risk to encounter Dundee with soldiers who had formerly served under him and might take the fancy to do so again. Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone of Kilsyth,³ who “was secretly favouring the King and the Grahame,” wished to force his way out at the head of the Dragoons, but Captain Balfour effectually frustrated him.⁴

Claverhouse rode boldly forward and explored “every approach and corner” in the fortifications of the city. “Find-

¹ *Grameid*, p. 68.

² In the “Marchmont Papers,” there is a letter from Lord Rollo (dated Dundee, May 14, 1689) to Sir Patrick Hume of Polewarth, complaining that the gentry of Angus and Kincardine declined to furnish horses, men or arms ; and relating a narrow escape he had from being made prisoner by Claverhouse. (Fraser’s report, Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 14, Part III.)

³ Not to be confounded with Sir Thomas Livingstone, his Colonel.

⁴ Mackay was much disgusted that the Scots Dragoons did not capture Lord Dundee ; and of Livingstone he says : “He was either a traitor or a coward ; for notwithstanding he was at least as strong as Dundee, and his horse in better case, he did not budge out of the town.” (Mackay’s “Memoirs,” p. 20.)

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ing no one ready to meet him"—probably beginning to realise that the Dragoons were unable at present to carry out their intention of joining him—he "in grave anger and disappointment" returned to the hillside and moved his force to the right, where he "occupied a high table-land from which all the town could be seen." The Standard-Bearer then relates how "four hot-blooded youths," without orders from their commander, took upon themselves to ride up to the very gates of the town, firing their pistols and challenging the enemy to come out and fight. The answer was a volley of shot from behind the walls, and one of the rash young men fell dead.

This seems to have been taken by the Jacobite cavaliers for the probable beginning of a fray, under cover of which the Dragoons might join them; so Claverhouse again came forward; but when his force advanced "with its centre massed and wings extended," the inhabitants of the "gude town" thought it wisest to "keep close under cover, and within the safe threshold of their homes."¹

It soon became evident that it was useless to waste further time in waiting for the Dragoons, and, as evening came on, Lord Dundee began his march towards his country house near Glamis. Then a dozen men plucked up courage to come out and harass his rear-guard, but they were received in such energetic fashion, "with bullet and sword," that they soon retreated and took refuge once again inside the city gates, leaving Claverhouse and his followers to pursue their way across the fields to Glenogilvy. There, "under the high walls of the tower,"² his gallant horsemen enjoyed a well-earned rest.³

The rest, however, appears only to have lasted one night,

¹ *Grameid*, p. 73.

² *Ibid.* p. 74.

³ The 1714 Memoir of Dundee gives Dudhope instead of Glenogilvy as Dundee's resting-place, but the Standard-Bearer, who was with him at the time, is the better authority. Dudhope was too near the Whiggish town of Dundee. Lord Dundee, according to the author of the "Memoir," "tarried two nights with his Lady," but the Standard-Bearer, after describing her farewell to her husband when he first set out for the Highlands, mentions her no more. For her subsequent fate see Appendix IV.

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for Dundee's departure from the Lowlands was hastened by letters from Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel pressing him to come up immediately to Lochaber. He marched northwards, the richer by £300 worth of cess and excise,¹ and was cheered on his way by "the good wishes and benedictions of the people."²

The *Grameid* abounds in descriptions of the strange and difficult country traversed by the Jacobite force under the guidance of a leader who "knew not how to yield however adverse might be his fate." His progress from Cupar Angus, by Dunkeld, past the castles of Weem, Comrie and Garth, to Loch Rannoch, and over the Grampians to Loch Treig and Lochaber, is described in detail and with proper pride by the Standard-Bearer: "By plain and rock and cliff, by sweltering bog and gully," the dauntless little band toiled on.

"Now many of the wearied horses sink into the marsh and are lost in its depth. Failing to raise them, the riders place the saddles on their own shoulders and pursue their way on foot. I myself, having lost my horse, have to tramp by rugged path and hill, by rock and river. At length, by stream, by marsh, and quaking bog, by forest blocked with uprooted trees, by precipice and mountain height, we reach Loch Treig and there fix our lofty camp. . . . Though the glories of Spring were clothing the Lowlands . . . we have to tear our limbs from frozen couches, and our hair and beards are stiff with ice. We pursue our way through regions condemned to perpetual frost, and never before trodden by the foot of man or horse. By mountains rising above the airy flight of birds, and cliffs towering to the sky, by devious paths among the time-worn rocks, our march unlocks the iron bolts of Nature. . . . Here no smoke or sign of human dwelling appears, but only the lair of the wild beast, and a chaos of mountain, wood and sky. Roman, Cimbrian,

¹ Hay's report mentions that Dundee, in addition to this £300, also "caused seize the drums and baggage" of some of Lord Mar's officers, and "chased the Lieutenant-Colonel, and might have seized whole companies, but was not at the pains; yet frightened and scattered them so that they have not been heard of since." (Nairne Papers, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 354.)

² Balhaldie, p. 239.

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Saxon, ne'er reached so far, and here the sun itself scarce darts a ray."¹

The Lowland Standard-Bearer gives what the Highland Balhaldie calls a "dismal description" of the country in which he then found himself: a wilderness of "briar, thistle, and heather," snow mountains and frozen rivers.² "The miserable hardships of this barren land," he says, drew secret complaints from some of Dundee's followers; but Dundee himself—"strong in his devotion to the King"—was undismayed by hunger, cold or tempest. "In the midst of difficulties and hardships he maintains his martial bearing, his fiery vigour, his steady constancy of mind, his unswerving fidelity. He frets only against the delays of war," and "is impatient till he restore the exiled "monarch."³

Thus concluded Act I. of the campaign; and certainly the honours were with Claverhouse. His successful raids on Dunkeld and Perth had given him all the prestige of a bold initiative. He had displayed the forceful energy and personal prowess of a dashing leader; and these brilliant attributes—enhanced by his strong influence over his men—presaged success for him in the still higher rôle of General.

The immediate result was a rapid accession of strength, moral and material, to the Jacobite cause; on the one hand he had created a feeling of consternation and panic far and wide among his enemies, and, on the other, had increased the confidence and hope of his adherents. After covering some 200 miles in eight days, with insignificant loss, and after having fooled Mackay, he had regained the Highland fastnesses of Badenoch and Lochaber; and there, among the loyal clansmen, and secure in the possession of the strategic centre of the Highlands, he could rally his forces, and await the promised aid from Ireland, which he had reason to expect through his sea-base at Inverlochy.

¹ *Grameid*, p. 75. The Roman expedition to the Highlands under Severus was an ignominious failure. How far north he penetrated is not clear, but he is said to have lost 50,000 of his men from cold and exposure, without fighting even one pitched battle.

² *Grameid*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 92 and 93.

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A parallel might be drawn—if it is permitted to compare small numbers with greater—between the sudden descent of Claverhouse on Dunkeld and Perth, and two successful raids conducted by the rival leaders in the American War of Secession. In October 1862 the Confederate General Stewart, with a paltry 800 men and four light guns, crossed the Potomac, and sweeping across the rear of the Federal armies thus severed all the lines of communication of the enemy, destroying depots and burning supplies. By this feat he produced a moral result altogether disproportionate to the material ; dismay and uncertainty in the Federal ranks and panic in the cities of the North were the immediate and grave effects upon the Northern cause. In a similar degree, Grierson, a successful Federal leader of mounted troops, in April 1863, leaving La Grange, Tennessee, with a few hundred picked horsemen, crossed the State of Mississippi, and reached Baton Rouge on the sea, a distance of 300 miles, in fifteen days, thus cutting all the Confederate lines of communication and railways, destroying vast quantities of stores, and paving the way to the fall of Vicksburg and the conquest of the Mississippi Valley by the Federals.

The effect of military success is more often moral than material, and numbers are not always a sound gauge of results in war. The numbers in each of the foregoing instances were relatively small, and yet the moral value of such ventures is undoubted. Though the physical methods of war may change with changing weapons, the moral aspects are unalterable. The qualities of a successful leader were the same in 1689 as in 1863, and are in fact the same to-day as in the days of Hannibal.

To these essential military characteristics as exemplified in Claverhouse, his modern commentators have done less than justice ; and whereas his own contemporaries recognised in him a mental kinship to Montrose—who in his turn had been compared with Plutarch's classic warriors—the history-reading public of to-day has yet to realise the honoured place he merits in the military Valhalla.

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May-June, 1689

Dundee seems at this time to have known little and cared little about the Highlanders. For their national character he probably felt the dislike of a Saxon, for their military character the contempt of a professional soldier.—MACAULAY, History, vol. iv., p. 342.

He knew so well to adapt himself to the humours and inclinations of the people whom he commanded, that there was a general harmony and agreement among all the officers of his little army, and so great was the confidence they reposed in his conduct, that they resigned themselves entirely to his pleasure without searching into his designs. Though the Highlanders are in general a high-spirited and proud people, and of an unruly and stubborn temper, yet the authority he had over them was surprising.—DRUMMOND OF BALHALDIE, Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, pp. 276, 277.

Chapter IX: The Fiery Cross May-June, 1689

IN order correctly to understand the military operations in which Lord Dundee made such effective use of the northern clansmen, it is essential to pay careful attention to the configuration of the Western and North-Western Highlands. It will be observed that the mountains run roughly in two parallel lines from south-west to north-east, thus forming two natural barriers; and these, with the succession of lochs and rivers running between them, form three natural lines of defence :

First, from the head of Loch Fyne—the north-west branch of the Firth of Clyde—to Inverness on the Moray Firth, runs a continuous line of mountains, making thus the southernmost barrier. Secondly comes the series of inland lochs, from Loch Linnhe, the long deep inlet of the sea, and its continuation Loch Eil, by river and a succession of lochs, to Inverness. And thirdly the line of mountains from the Sound of Mull to the forest of Monar forms a final fastness and sure stronghold.

The first barrier or line of mountain defence is penetrable only at two points—by Inverness on the north, and by the head of Spey Valley into Glen Spean in the centre. The second barrier of river and loch at either end affords a two-fold outlet to the sea, thus providing two sea-bases, open to the North Sea at Inverness and to the Atlantic Ocean at Inverlochy on Loch Linnhe.

In the seventeenth century—and indeed until the advent of

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the railway and the construction of modern roads which make light of the physical configuration of a country—the only approaches to the Highlands by land for a regular military force, constituted such as that of General Mackay, would have been either by Inverness or by the head of the Spey Valley into Glen Spean. To take the Inverness way would in itself aid little in bringing the clans to terms, whereas a successful advance by the centre route would cut the first barrier in two, and establish a secure footing upon the line of lochs and rivers.

It is therefore obvious that the best approach—the front door—to the Highlands lay by the Spey, and that the key to the situation was the point in Badenoch where the main road from Dunkeld, Blair Atholl and Glen Garry, strikes the Spey Valley in the land of the Macphersons near Kingussie. Moreover the triangle defined by Kingussie on the Spey, Dalwhinnie at the head of Loch Ericht, and Cluny, the stronghold of the Macphersons, commands the valleys of the Findhorn, Spey and Avon, flowing north to Forres and Elgin, the Don and the Dee flowing east to Aberdeen, and the Garry and the Tummel flowing south into the Tay to Dunkeld and Perth. All these rivers take their rise in the forests of Badenoch, and their valleys were open to the clansmen, who, making light of mountain tracks, required little transport to enable them to move in force upon their Lowland foes.

The direct route between Perth and Dunkeld with Inverness and Elgin lay also through Glen Garry and across the mountains at the head of Loch Ericht, by the valley of the Tromie into Speyside. Here again the possession of this triangle severed the communication between the north and south by the shorter route through the Highlands. The sound military perception of Claverhouse therefore fixed upon the country of the Macphersons as the true strategic centre from which to conduct his offensive operations upon his enemy. Secure in a sea-base at the head of Loch Linnhe, strong in his hold upon Cameron of Lochiel and the principal clans of Badenoch, Lochaber, Moray, Atholl and Mar, he

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was in a position to strike with equal advantage north upon the main body of his enemies in the field against him, east upon their line of communications with Aberdeen and Perth, or south upon their base at Dunkeld, Perth and Stirling.

Bearing these facts in mind it becomes easy to appreciate the keen military insight and sound knowledge—founded obviously upon a study of Montrose's exploits—which thus caused Claverhouse to make direct for the country of Lochiel and Cluny, and to recognise that the possession of Badenoch was vital to his success.

In forming an idea of the subsequent campaign, some of the best material is to be found in Claverhouse's diplomatic letters, in his Standard-Bearer's epic poem ¹ and—notwithstanding various inaccuracies—in Drummond of Balhaldie's spirited "*Memoirs of Lochiel*"; but the average reader oftener than not is led away by Lord Macaulay, whose rhetorical prowess is nowhere more strikingly exemplified than in his narrative of the Highland war. It has that clarity and emphasis which always characterise his statements, but is as inaccurate in detail as it is false in spirit. Giving the impression that Mackay's defeat and flight were infinitely more heroic than Dundee's victory and death, Macaulay takes great pains to show the chiefs and clansmen of the North as actuated only by most selfish motives: "The interest of James," he says, "was nothing to the maurauders who used his name and rallied round his banner merely for the purpose of making profitable forays and wreaking old grudges." The Highland zest for plundering and fighting and the Highland memory for family feuds are sufficiently notorious; but Highland loyalty has been too often and too sternly tested to be thus contemptuously put aside. Claverhouse's Standard-Bearer tells us that "the defaming of the King, the attack upon his power, civil treachery," and "the purchased desertion of his soldiery," aroused a generous sympathy and in-

¹ The *Grameid* (translated for the Scottish History Society, 1888). Referred to by Macaulay as "a lost epic," though it was then, as now, in the Advocates' Library and easily accessible. The *Grameid* is unfinished, and therefore does not describe the battle of Killiecrankie.

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dignation in the minds of a people who "will for ever be steadfast through hardship, changes of fortune, fierce war, and the tumults of sedition."¹ This is not to be dismissed as a poetic flourish; it is borne out by facts; and the Standard-Bearer, writing only a couple of years after the campaign, is undoubtedly more qualified to judge the Highland spirit at this epoch than Macaulay writing in the reign of Queen Victoria.² It is moreover diverting to note that the Standard-Bearer is as contemptuous of the "Lowland races, slow to war and ready for a bribe," as the modern Whig rhetorician is scornful of the Papist and "Pagan" Highlander. Certainly there were one or two amongst the Highland chieftains, notably the headstrong Keppoch, apt to be more troublesome to friends than foes; but even Keppoch was so far true to the Stuart kings as to join Lord Mar's rising in 1715; and for disinterested loyalty to a fallen cause the Highland record cannot be surpassed. Of the survivors from Dundee's campaign of 1689 there were few if any who failed to fight at Sheriffmuir; and again, thirty years later, their sons and grandsons rallied round the grandson of that King for whom Dundee had fought and died at Killiecrankie.³

That the standpoint of the Highland Jacobites was scarcely more intelligible to some of their own contemporaries than to their bitter modern enemy, Macaulay, is clear from various illuminating episodes, and most of all from the abortive scheme to buy the leading chiefs, and thus conclude the war without the trouble and expense of a campaign. Curiously enough, it was Lord Tarbat and Mackay, both Highlanders by birth, who hoped most from this futile measure. The supposition was that Claverhouse's northern allies were actuated not by love for Claverhouse or for the cause he represented, but exclusively by jealousy and hatred of Argyll,

¹ *Grameid*, p. 89.

² "No doubtful tales brought to me by report will I relate," says the Standard-Bearer, "but it is my purpose to unfold and to open to future times that only which I have seen with my own eyes, which I have heard with my own ears." (*Grameid*, p. 122.)

³ See Appendix IX. : Subsequent Fate of Dundee's Officers.

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who had acquired certain feudal claims upon the lands of various chiefs politically at war with him. Some four (or at the most five) thousand pounds would settle this, and then—it was assumed—these Highland magnates, thus deprived of their main grievance, would come over to the Government which held out the financial bait. Accordingly Mackay, at Tarbat's instigation, wrote to Lochiel proposing this accommodation, and offering him the command of a regiment, "what titles of honour and dignity he would choose," and other such inducements to desert Dundee.¹ Lochiel took not the slightest notice of these overtures. Glengarry, plied with similar offers, handed Mackay's communication over to Dundee, and asked him to dictate the answer²; and Mackay received a brief sarcastic note thanking him for his counsels and recommending him to emulate the Parliamentary General Monck, who in the previous generation brought about the Restoration of the royal House of Stuart.

This, as Mackay himself remarks, "broke clearly off" all hopes of a pacific settlement.³

Then—actuated by a sense of duty which deserves respect—King William's General set out on an expedition totally unlike his previous military operations, and proportionately difficult.

Meanwhile Lord Dundee from Lochaber had sent forth the Fiery Cross, the time-honoured method of gathering the Highland clans together for offensive operations. "A spear, shining with gilded point," and "crossed by wooden javelins . . . covered with red wax," was raised aloft amidst flaming torches, to the accompaniment of the wild music of the bagpipes, and sent far and wide to all the loyal districts, as the "token and prelude of fierce war."⁴

The *Grameid* shows Dundee revolving "great projects in his mind, calling the neighbouring tribes on every side to his aid," and firing the Highlanders with some of his own

¹ Balhaldie, p. 240.

² *Ibid.*

³ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 19.

⁴ *Grameid*, p. 111.

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ardour. "Nor does the howl of the enemy intimidate the hero to the desertion of his cause, though Scotland rises against his arms, and Ireland blazes in rebellion, and hostile Britain on every hand was raising her levies."

All this, says the admiring Standard-Bearer, produced no more effect on Claverhouse than "the barking of dogs at night on the highway"; but it will subsequently be divined that he assumed an outward confidence and calm serenity which sometimes he was far from feeling. He was too worldly wise to underestimate the adverse forces which for obvious reasons he affected to disdain; his private letters to Lord Melfort show the heavy handicap of which he was acutely conscious. But he had the self-control to hide from those around him all the difficulties and sharp discouragements which would have overwhelmed a lesser man; and his achievements during the campaign of 1689 are no less a triumph of diplomacy than of the arts of war.

The rendezvous at Mucomir, which had been fixed for May the 18th, was postponed to give Sir Alexander and Sir John Maclean, with their respective followings, time to come from Duart and Otter to Lochaber. But the delay proved unavailing, for Sir John, having sent word he was "just coming," most inopportunately fell ill¹; and his cousin, Sir Alexander, hearing that some hostile men-of-war, a frigate, and some other ships were menacing his clansmen in Kintyre, went off at once to scatter the invaders. Though he succeeded in his object he was so delayed thereby and by the storms which were then raging all along that coast, that it was hopeless to attempt to reach Lochaber for the rendezvous. He ultimately joined the Standard of King James (as we shall see) some few weeks later, and, with Sir John Maclean, was one of those who led his men to victory in the memorable fight at Killiecrankie.

Sir Alexander was the son of Bishop Maclean of Argyll and the Isles; and Sir John, his cousin, was the Chief of the Macleans of Duart. Balhaldie and the Standard-Bearer both are fervent in their eulogies of the gay, handsome, gallant,

¹ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 354.

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“sparkling” Sir John, who, though no more than nineteen years of age, was noted no less for his “pleasant and fastidious” wit, his love of literature and skill in languages, than for his graceful courtly person. He and the boy Clanranald—who also meant to come in force to the great rendezvous, but was delayed till later—both appear among the most romantic and attractive of Dundee’s brave Highland following.

Even without the two Macleans, without Clanranald, and Macdonald of Sleat, who could not get their men together till the following month, the rendezvous must certainly have been a brilliant gathering, representing as it did so many of the clans which in the previous generation had won glory under Montrose—the pioneer who first revealed to an astonished world the military capacities of Scottish Highlanders.

From Badenoch, Atholl and Mar, the clansmen “keen for strife” came thronging at the summons of the Fiery Cross. First came the Camerons, with their redoubted chief Lochiel, “stiff in brazen armour,” gorgeous with gold lace, a two-edged sword by his side, and in his helmet “blood-red plumes.”¹ He rode a fine grey charger, and behind him rode his son-in-law Balhaldie, who had met Claverhouse at Dunblane some eight weeks previously and given him such hearty reassurances of Highland loyalty. Cameron of Gledessary, with a “ruddy banner,” was also in attendance; and amongst the waving standards was the *or* and *azure* of young Robert Stuart of Appin, whose uncle had been one of the devoted followers of Montrose.

In the Western Isles Dundee had many allies; from Skye and Islay and Iona, from Knoydart, Rachlin, Raasay, Mull and Barra, from Jura and from Moydart, and “from every part of the North” they flocked, to the frank joy and wonder of the Standard-Bearer, who describes them with a boyish gusto.²

Amongst the earliest arrivals was “Black Alastair”

¹ *Grameid*, pp. 131-132.

² He takes a poetic licence and includes in his description of the first rendezvous various chiefs and clansmen who joined at a later date—for instance Clanranald and the Macdonalds of the Isles, the Macleans, and Macleods of Raasay.

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Macdonell of Glengarry,¹ tall, dark and formidable, "mounted on a foaming steed . . . his cloak shining with gold." He was attended by 300 of his clan, and "following him closely" came his brother with 100 more of the Macdonell vassals.² Next marched Macdonald of Glencoe, Alastair MacIan, "towering above his whole line by head and shoulders," hearty and vigorous, and little dreaming of the fearful treachery and brutal massacre of which he was so soon to be the victim.³ He is eulogised by Drummond of Balhaldie as "of great integrity," "good nature," bravery and honour, "much loved by his neighbours."⁴ Then, after Glencoe and his men, there marched another bevy of Macdonalds, armed with javelins and clubs and carrying the emblem of their race, a bunch of heather slung upon a spearpoint. At their head strode Keppoch the Marauder, whom we met before at Inverness, the very incarnation of that headstrong lawlessness which made him and his kind such dangerous allies.

Macneill of Barra, whose war cry was "Victory or Death," conspicuous in his many-coloured plaid, led his tall clansmen, "himself the tallest"; and, says the Standard-Bearer, another islander, the stalwart Raasay, was followed by a throng of barefooted Macleods, clad in rough ox-hide tunics, quivers full of arrows slung across their shoulders, swords and axes by their sides.⁵

There came also Fraser of Foyers, loyal scion of a clan whose chief was wavering in uncertainty; Fraser of Culduthil, "stiff with brass, and shining with steel and gold"; MacAlester of Loupe, and with him the Chief of the MacLachlans; Dougal of Craignish and the men of Morven and Ardgour;

¹ Eldest son and successor of Ranald, tenth Chief of Glengarry. Ranald of Glengarry was still alive in 1689, but very old and feeble, so his son "Black Alastair" was acting Chief of the clan in his place.

² Hay's report of this rendezvous does not mention Glengarry's brother, who may have joined afterwards. He was one of those who fell at Killiecrankie.

³ For a detailed account of the massacre of Glencoe see "Gallienus Redivivus," appended to the 1714 "Memoir of the Lord Viscount Dundee."

⁴ Balhaldie, p. 34.

⁵ This is poetic licence in the *Grameid*; Raasay did not come in time for this rendezvous.

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Lamond, "tall midst his clan"; Grant of Ballindalloch; Grant of Glenmoriston—a name renowned in the annals of loyalty;—and the Chief of the Macmartins, who (declares the Standard-Bearer) was so strong that he "could uproot the old ash-tree."

These chiefs came gladly to the Royal Standard in prompt answer to the Fiery Cross; and there flocked also to the rendezvous MacNabs, Cowals, and Gibbons, "barbarous names at which the Latin muse shudders." Their respective numbers it is not easy to assert with confidence. The seventeenth-century Lucan in his Latin epic, caring rather for high-sounding imagery than military precision, scorns such particulars; while Drummond of Balhaldie—one of the mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease—is very little better. From Hay's report, this Highland gathering on May the 26th would seem not to have reached 2000; in which case less than a third were present of the clansmen who responded ultimately to the summons of King James's champion.¹

Dundee's personal following amounted to eighty or ninety Horse; forty or fifty from his former regiment, a group of Gordons under Lord Dunfermline, and various gentlemen volunteers, his friends and kinsmen. Among the Grahames who were in attendance on him was David, his "bold brother"; his cousin Grahame of Duntrune; and a more distant kinsman, Major William Graham of Balquhapple, who

¹ Hay was not at the rendezvous, and his report was written some time after the event; the following numbers stated by him only profess to be approximate:—

Lochiel and the Camerons	600
Keppoch and his Macdonalds	200
Glengarry and the Macdonells	250 or 300
Glencoe and his Macdonalds	200
Morer and the Clanranald Macdonalds from the mainland (those from the Isles did not arrive till later)	200
Appin and his Stuarts	200
	<hr/>
	<u>1700</u>

(Nairne Papers, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 354.) Hay says nothing of the Macleods, Macnabs, Gibbons, and others mentioned by the Standard-Bearer; possibly they may have sent representatives to the rendezvous and only joined in force later.

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some six weeks earlier had been one of the "witnesses" to his son's baptism. With him was another cousin, Haliburton of Pitcur, who was to die of wounds received at Killiecrankie; and also of his kith and kin was young James Philip of Almerieclose, the Standard-Bearer. Fullerton of Fullerton, Sir Alexander Innes of Coxton, Edmondstone of Newton, and the gallant Lord Dunkeld were of the party; and with them rode "Scott, blind of an eye,"¹ "the Johnstone Youth,"² and the high-spirited and witty Gilbert Ramsay, an advocate who recently had cast aside the gown in favour of the sword.

Every one of these was destined to pay dearly for the fervour which had prompted him to join Dundee. Confiscation, exile, death, disaster—such were the fates in store for them in the near future; but, inspired by a leader who "knew not how to fail," and lifted above themselves in passionate excitement, their hopes of victory were unclouded by chill forecasts of approaching doom.

Dundee had set alight in the hearts of his followers a spark of the same fire which prompted his own actions; and this power to arouse subordinates and stir up dormant heroism is one of the qualities conspicuous in the successful generals of every age. On May the 26th it was scarcely nine weeks since he had ridden out of Edinburgh with his fifty faithful troopers from his disbanded Regiment of Horse, and now he was gathering together an army such as Montrose would have been satisfied to lead. The Standard-Bearer depicts him as galloping proudly "along the front of his lines"; but afterwards "passing a sleepless night" in thinking out the problem of the future and the "doubtful chances of fortune."³

The concentration of the clans at this date had been undertaken by Dundee with a view to stop the enemy's re-

¹ *Grameid*, p. 162. Possibly the "Killiecrankie ancestor" Sir Walter Scott was proud to claim.

² *Grameid*, p. 163. "Mr John Johnstone, brother of the Earl of Annandale," is mentioned for prosecution as a Jacobite. (Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 115.) Perhaps he was the "one named Johnstone," into whose arms Dundee was to fall mortally wounded on July the 27th. (*Ibid.*) See Appendix V., Dundee's Highland Forces.

³ *Grameid*, p. 164.

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inforcements getting through to Inverness by Atholl and Glengarry, for he had learnt that Colonel Ramsay with a body of picked Horse and Foot was expected by Mackay. Moreover he heard further from Steuart of Ballechin (who had intercepted letters sent south by the Atholl route to Ramsay from his General) that a small garrison of Grants had been thrown into Ruthven Castle in order to facilitate this junction of Mackay with Ramsay.

Armed with this information he had laid his plans accordingly, and the success of his endeavours was to prove a sad blow to his adversary. Ramsay, though the Standard-Bearer says he had a "distinguished name" as a soldier, was, like his General, bred to the Franco-Flemish type of war, and he proved ill able to adapt himself to the conditions of campaigning in the Highlands. He was severely handicapped by his ignorance of the country, and evidently the Atholl men played upon this and misled him into thinking his position more desperate than it really was. Consequently, instead of marching to Ruthven Castle as intended, he blew up his ammunition, left his heavy baggage, and retreated, on the 24th of May. Obviously he had heard of Dundee's proposed advance, and was expecting an immediate attack. Dundee, in Lochaber, was in constant communication with Ballechin, and Ballechin no doubt acted under his orders in misleading the unfortunate Ramsay, who thus failed Mackay—to the pardonable indignation of the latter, and the disappointment of Hamilton who had calculated that the junction of forces would have been effected before May the 24th.

On the morning of May the 28th Dundee's camp "resounded with joyous tumult, and a great shout went up when the commander, mounted on his noble charger, took his place in the midst of the army."¹ After he had spoken, to cheer and to encourage, "the pipes struck up," "the clarion and bugle sounded," the Standard-Bearer raised aloft the Lion of Scotland, and the whole force, "brilliant with the varied weapons of Lochaber" advanced in marching order, Glengarry leading and the other chieftains following each "in his own

¹ *Grameid*, p. 164.

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station" at the head of his men. Through Glen Roy, across the mountains of Garvamore and the fords of the Spey, "the Highland army, with its glitter of brass and flash of bright musket," made its way at a good swinging pace. On reaching "the green fields of Cluny" Dundee called the Macphersons to arms, and then went on to the Castle of Raitts, where he seems to have spent the night.¹

Next day, the 29th of May—a famous day in Royalist annals—was celebrated with due ceremony. In the morning Lord Dundee gathered the chiefs together on a heathery plain in the midst of the encampment, and in a brief but spirited speech reminded them that this day was the anniversary of the Restoration, and that it became them to "observe its due offices and honours." So congenial a suggestion was greeted with hearty cheers from all the clansmen, who gladly obeyed their General's command to heap up a huge pyre of brushwood, branches and felled trees. To this, Dundee himself put a light, while the bagpipes skirled and the Highlanders applauded loudly. Then, standing, scarlet-coated, in front of the pile, holding in his hand a goblet of wine, he proposed the memory of the late King Charles and of his Restoration; the health of King James, success to his cause, and his speedy and triumphant return to Scotland.

"He spoke" (says the Standard-Bearer), "and with uncovered head he stood before the whole throng, and quaffed the bowl at a mighty draught." The chieftains repeated the toast, and "with eager throats they drained their full goblets. The crash and clang of the pipes rose to the skies, and the flaming faggots lighted up the whole camp."²

Having roused the army to a fervour of loyalty, he bade his men dispense with the games and festivities usual on May the 29th, and rather celebrate the Restoration Day by marching to besiege the Castle of Ruthven, in the Spey Valley, one mile from Kingussie. The castle stood at a

¹ Raitts Castle, in the parish of Alvie on the Spey, was originally the ancient stronghold of the Comyns. In the eighteenth century it was replaced by the house of Belleville, built for James Macpherson of Ossianic notoriety. ("History of the Province of Moray," vol. i., p. 279.)

² *Grahame*, pp. 171, 172.

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crossing point of tracks—north, south, east and west—and was held for the Prince of Orange by some three score and ten of Grants, commanded by the vigorous young Captain Forbes, brother of the Laird of Culloden.

Forbes was evidently feeling secure in the anticipation of Mackay's arrival, and when summoned to surrender he returned a haughty and defiant answer. This pleased the Highlanders, who were impatient for a fray, none more so than the Chief of Keppoch. Dundee, seeing at last a useful outlet for the energies of this embarrassing ally, bade him encircle the castle with his clansmen, and "with sound of horn and pipe" summon its commander once again to hold a parley, and then offer him a second opportunity to yield. But Captain Forbes, "a brisk young man,"¹ stood firm, and Keppoch, vastly pleased, declared in Claverhouse's name that he would burn the castle. In proof that this was no mere empty verbiage, he had the dry moat "filled with piles of wood and beams" preparatory to firing the ancient stronghold. He was so obviously in earnest that Captain Forbes on second thoughts agreed he would capitulate in three days if he had not been relieved. He was in hourly expectation that Mackay would come to his assistance; but the three days came and went, and not a trace appeared of the anticipated help. Accordingly he and the garrison surrendered, and were treated by their captors with the utmost courtesy. Forbes was allowed to walk through the camp and go free with his men to join Mackay if they could find him.

Then Ruthven—so often in its previous history built and burnt, and built up only to be wrecked again—was set on fire by Claverhouse's orders. He could not spare the men to hold it for himself, but it could thus be rendered useless to the enemy.²

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 30.

² The original Ruthven Castle had belonged to the Comyns. Then it was the headquarters of the "Wolf" of Badenoch, brother of Claverhouse's royal ancestor, King Robert III. Subsequently it had been granted to the Gordons. The castle wrecked by Claverhouse was probably the one which had been built by the first Marquis of Huntly, partly out of the stones of the older castle. The present ruins of Ruthven Castle are not the remains of the castle burnt by Claverhouse, but are the wreck of a Government

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At this time Claverhouse had friends in his opponent's army. The Scots Dragoons, frustrated in their wish to join him when he appeared before Dundee on May the 13th, had taken the field since with Mackay, in hope to get a chance of going over to King James's Standard. It happened that, as Captain Forbes was passing down the Spey on his way out of Ruthven Castle after the surrender, he ran into two troopers of the Scots Dragoons. As they said that they were scouts sent out to get news of the enemy, Forbes told them what had happened, and advised them to turn back lest they should fall into the hands of Claverhouse's stragglers. Nevertheless they went ahead, and this struck Forbes as foolhardy temerity, so on reaching the camp he mentioned it, and thereby roused Mackay's suspicions.

In point of fact these troopers (self-styled scouts) were messengers to Lord Dundee from Colonel William Livingstone, who, when he had been quartered in Dundee with the Dragoons, had gone to Dudhope "privately," as Captain Crichton says, in order to assure Lady Dundee that the regiment "should be at her Lord's service whenever he pleased to command." Lady Dundee thereupon had sent word to her husband; and Crichton shortly afterwards, upon the march to join Mackay, had met "a ragged Highlander" who gave him a note from Claverhouse announcing the prospective Irish reinforcements, and stating that immediately upon the landing of these troops he would expect the Scots Dragoons to break loose from Mackay and join their former colours.¹

To trace the progress of events we must return now to Mackay in Inverness. On Saturday, May the 25th, on hearing Colonel Ramsay had arrived in Atholl on his way to Ruthven, Mackay decided to push on to meet him, and accordingly he set out the next morning (Sunday, May the 26th). His force—so he himself declares—was scarcely 700 strong. Three or four hundred of his soldiers he had

fortress built in 1718 to overawe the Highlands. This fortress was partially destroyed by fugitives from Culloden in 1746, and has been ruinous ever since.

¹ Crichton, "Memoirs," ed. 1824, p. 79.

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left in garrison at Inverness, where they were supplemented by Strathnaver's men, and some of Reay's and Balnagowan's. A company of Grants, Mackays and other Whiggish Highlanders went with him on his march, his regular troops being only 100 English Horse, 140 Dragoons, and a mere couple of hundred Foot. However, with 600 men of Ramsay's due to meet him, and with further reinforcements promised, he could hope to be in a position shortly to give battle to Dundee.

Half way to Ruthven (on Monday, May the 27th, at or near Carrbridge) he learnt the disconcerting fact that Ramsay, after blowing up his ammunition, had retreated south. This was a sad blow—"Ramsay's not joining me hath completely altered the face of affairs, for otherwise I could easily have beaten or chased the rebels." So wrote Mackay to Hamilton; but, as we shall see, it was Mackay himself who was to have the chasing and the beating. At the early stage of the campaign, however, he appears to have been tolerably confident of ultimate success. With his declared contempt for "savage" and irregular foes it is quite natural he should have failed at first to understand the odds that were eventually to overwhelm him. To his stiff formal mind the enterprise of Lord Dundee was so eccentric and irregular—so opposed to all the rules of war as known in France or Flanders, the two military centres of the universe—that he assumed such methods must be wrong and end in failure. Armed with this belief he had set forth with energy and resolution, intending to administer a drastic lesson to his former comrade. But Fortune did not favour him, and after learning of the blundering retreat of Ramsay, he heard further a depressing rumour that Dundee in Badenoch had recently assembled some 3000 Highlanders. If this was so, he thought it would be foolhardy to run the risk of being overwhelmed by numbers, so he spent the following day and night in marching down Strathspey, in hope of shutting off the enemy from penetrating to his other allies in the Gordon country.

Rumour just then was prodigal of lies, for while Mackay

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was thus retreating, owing to a false report of his opponent's strength, Dundee at Raitts heard that Mackay was only four miles distant, and was advancing with a force of Highlanders—Munro's, Strathnaver's, Grant's, Lord Reay's and Balnagowan's men, "beside the standing troops."¹ Half these, as we have seen, had in reality been left in Inverness and thereabouts²; but Claverhouse and Mackay on this occasion were each deluded into thinking that the other had been strongly reinforced.

Dundee, desirous of a prompt encounter, even against superiority of numbers, altered his plans and sent his brother David on a scouting expedition with a company of Foot, while he himself led a body of Horse, and sent out cavaliers in various directions to discover the whereabouts of the enemy.

At first no trace of the alleged large army could be seen, but Captain Alexander Bruce, who with a dozen Horse had gone towards the Kirk of Alvie, found General Mackay encamped close by; a bridge in front of him, "a ditch of deep and rolling water" in his rear, a burn upon his right, and the woods protecting his left.³

Bruce and his men dismounted and swarmed up a rock, whence they could look down on the camp; then Bruce, a former officer in the Dragoons, with calm audacity addressed his brethren of the famous regiment, adjuring them to come back to their rightful banner.⁴ His presence naturally could not remain unnoticed by the other section of the forces, so his blandishments were greeted by a shower of shot; which form of salutation he returned with energy.

¹ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 355. No date is given; Hay merely says "about this time."

² Mackay subsequently says that as Strathnaver's and Grant's men were "without clothes, arms, or discipline," he "laid no stress on them." ("Memoirs," p. 40.)

³ *Granrid*, p. 176. The exact place of the camp is not stated, but the "deep and rolling water" in his rear and the burn upon his right were probably two of the rivers flowing out of Loch Alvie.

⁴ Bruce is described by Mackay as "formerly Captain-Lieutenant in Livingston's Dragoons." He was the Captain Alexander Bruce mentioned eighth on the list of "desperat and bloody traitors" in the Proclamation of William and Mary, July 18. His identity has sometimes been confounded with that of Andrew Bruce of Earlsall, who had been associated with Claverhouse in subduing the Covenanters.

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Then, fearing his retreat might be cut off, he dashed back to inform Dundee of his opponent's whereabouts, and to report the rumoured formidable hosts of Whiggish Highlanders were in reality so very few as to be hardly worth considering.

Delighted at the prospect of immediate battle, Dundee arranged the clans in order, and with his Cavalry he led the way at once towards Alvie.

Riding by Dunachton, a fortress of the Mackintoshes he had passed before and left untouched, he was surprised to see the place in flames. No doubt he guessed at whose door the offence was to be laid, but this was not the moment for inquiry or punishment, and so, deferring judgment, he pressed on to meet the enemy.

But General Mackay, on hearing news of this advance, decided to continue his retreat. Disappointed of expected reinforcements, and believing Lord Dundee to have at least 3000 Highlanders, as well as 80 or 100 Horse, he thought it wiser to retire than wait and probably be overwhelmed by numbers. Moreover Captain Forbes's chance remark¹ had set him speculating as to the intentions of the Scots Dragoons ; and he began to doubt if they could be relied upon to turn their arms against their former General.

Cut off from his main line of communications with Dunkeld and Perth, confined in the Spey Valley by the impassable barrier of Ben Macdhui and its fellows, the only course left open to Mackay was a retreat north-east to Castle Grant, in hope of gaining a new line of communication with Aberdeen, his advance base, by Keith, Huntly and Strathbogie.

Accordingly when Claverhouse and his expectant Highlanders reached Alvie, eager to engage the enemy, Mackay had rapidly retreated. Conjecturing he would intend to make for Castle Grant, Dundee pressed on through Rothiemurchus Woods, and, fording the Spey near Kinakyle,² he chased Mackay along the edge of Abernethy forest, by the

¹ See p. 280 *ante*.

² Not to be confounded with Culnakyle.

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Haughs of Cromdale, through Glenlivet, and past Ballindalloch and snow-capped Ben Rinnis. The pursuit lasted four consecutive days,¹ Dundee gaining steadily each day; and late on the fourth afternoon he came in sight of "the hostile force passing into concealment behind a hill." Great was the joy of the Highlanders who had so long been balked of their prey. Apparently they thought Mackay was taking a position to encounter them in battle, so they cast aside their plaids, threw off their bulls'-hide brogues, and eagerly made ready for the fight.²

But Mackay had no such foolhardy intention; and Dundee, "looking from a hill-top, perceived that the enemy's squadrons were stealing away." Then, as the Standard-Bearer exultantly relates, he bade the trumpeters sound the "set on" to reincite the willing Highlanders to the pursuit.

With the clansmen thus red-hot with fervour, and Mackay no doubt depressed and weary from his four days' flight, it seemed as if a combat must "in all human probability" result in victory for King James's force.³ So Lord Dundee put on his helmet and breastplate, mounted his war horse, and gave chase again.

Mackay hastened east past Balveny, "the lightning-like Grahame" pressing him all the while, and coming so near him as to harass and attack his rear-guard. Fraser of Foyers "with cutting words" adjured the flying enemy to stand and fight, and punctuated his request by musket fire. But General Mackay knew better than to turn and meet what he felt sure would be inevitable overthrow, and so not either taunts or bullets had the least effect except to speed him faster.

The sun meanwhile was setting, but, says the Standard-Bearer,

"still rise the shouts of men, still comes the panting of pursuing horses; the air resounds with clamour. . . . Here at the double, comes a regiment of Foot, there the iron hoof

¹ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 355, and see Itinerary, Appendix VI.

² *Grameid*, p. 183.

³ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 355.

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of the Cavalry cuts the quivering turf at the gallop. There is no rest until black night steals colour from the scene, and outspread darkness covers the earth.”¹

Then at last Dundee thought fit to call a halt. Further pursuit was useless even had there still been light; for they had now come within three miles of Strathbogie, a flat country where the enemy's Horse and Dragoons would have had too much advantage over the Highlanders,² who feared nothing in the world but Cavalry.

Mackay, assuming he was still pursued, continued his march till he had passed the river of Bogie, and there he was obliged to pause, for horses and men were exhausted. Cheered by the news that Berkeley's Dragoons³ and Leslie's Foot⁴ were on their way to meet him at Suy Hill near Forbes's stronghold of Druminnor, after two hours' rest he started out again. The Standard-Bearer scoffs at him for sluggishness, but, so severely pressed as he had been, he merits rather commendation than contempt. This type of warfare was extremely uncongenial to him, and he made the best he could of most unfavourable circumstances.⁵

At Suy Hill punctually at noon he was joined by Colonel Berkeley's Dragoons as he expected, but Sir James Leslie's regiment of Foot did not arrive till six in the evening, having had a long and weary march from Forfarshire. Thus reinforced, Mackay determined to strike promptly; and learning

¹ *Grameid*, p. 186.

² Hay's Report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 355.

³ Colonel the Hon. John Berkeley, afterwards Viscount FitzHardinge.

⁴ Colonel Sir James Leslie.

⁵ Some weeks after Claverhouse's death, Mackay writes from Blair Castle to Lord Melville (August 30, 1689): "I am extremely weary of this sort of war, and it is certainly more fit for a man of fewer years, and more accustomed with the manner of the country, than for me; so that nothing but my zeal for their Majesties' service, and the interest of the Protestant religion, could make it supportable to me. . . . I hope His Majesty will have the goodness to permit me to take my winter quarters in Holland." He goes on to complain of the "great fatigues, inconveniencies and difficulties," from which he has suffered; and adds that perhaps the only way to produce an immediate effect would be "to make war as the Highlanders," with the same sort of disorderly and violent Highland forces as those of the enemy. "But," says he, "I would never be the Commander of such an army." (Mackay of Rockfield's "Life of General Mackay," pp. 157-158, Appendix.)

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that Dundee had gone back to Edinglassie, he resolved to make his way there under cover of the night, and take him by surprise.

In the meantime Dundee's small army was beginning to get out of hand. In battle, or in a swift pursuit, none better than the Highlanders ; but in between such strenuous services it was their custom to seek relaxation in their favourite sport of plundering and ravaging the lands of those with whom they chanced to be at feud, and even Montrose, with all his influence, had not been able to induce them to renounce this barbarous habit.

It will be remembered how Dundee, when he left Raitts to chase Mackay out of his camp at Alvie, in passing Dunachton Castle, was dismayed to see flames rising up from its old towers. The moment was not suited for inquiry ; but considering that Dunachton was the property of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, a deadly foe of the Macdonalds, there was little room for doubt at whose door the offence was to be laid. Unlike Mackay—who on a subsequent occasion threatened to devastate the country and “not leave a house standing” between Blair and Dunkeld¹—Dundee's Highland policy was of a conciliatory nature, and Mackintosh, who had stood neutral, would have been safe under his rule from any outrage. But Keppoch, “without communicating his intentions to any person,” had “slipped away with his followers” and taken upon himself to ravage and destroy the Mackintosh territories in such a manner that the Mackintosh Chief's neutrality might reasonably have become converted into open hatred of the Jacobite cause. Balhaldie relates how Dundee—though at the time he made no comment—subsequently summoned the incorrigible freebooter, and, in the presence of the principal officers of the army, assured him he would rather “serve as a common soldier among disciplined troops,” than command such men as he, who seemed to make it his business to draw the odium of the country down upon him.

Dundee and Keppoch had already clashed—in the dramatic

¹ Mackay's “Memoirs,” pp. 102, 270, 271.

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scene outside the walls of Inverness, at the beginning of the war—and it was necessary once again to make clear who was master.

Versed in the art of scornful and incisive condemnation, Dundee remarked that although Keppoch burnt Dunachton out of private malice, yet it would be assumed that he had acted by authority ; and therefore, if he was thus resolved to do as he pleased, without regarding the King's interest or the public welfare, he had better begone with his men instead of staying to affront his General and make him and the well-disposed troops a cover to such wanton savagery.

Considering the Macdonalds formed the larger portion of Dundee's small force, and that the Highland clansmen in emergencies had always backed their chiefs, it says much for the moral courage of Dundee, and for his habit of command, that he could speak with such uncompromising vigour.

Had any mediocre man voiced such a drastic condemnation, he would have brought down on his head the Highland vengeance ; but Dundee had "played his personage" with such success that Keppoch, the most turbulent and headstrong of a turbulent and headstrong type, had actually the grace to be ashamed and beg forgiveness.

He pleaded in excuse that he had burnt Dunachton in belief that Mackintosh had recently declared for General Mackay ; but, since he had been wrong in this, he could but promise greater caution in the future ; and finally he swore that neither he nor any of his men should henceforth start hostilities without Dundee's express command.¹

But reformed freebooters, like reformed rakes, are little to be relied upon, and Keppoch's bad example, severely though it had been censured, was not without its ill-effects upon the other Highlanders.

After the four days' pursuit of Mackay, during the brief lull that ensued, Dundee fell ill, and the Highlanders "thinking themselves masters, grew very disorderly, and plundered without distinction wherever they came."

It requires something more than moral force to hold

¹ Balhaldie, p. 243.

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together an irregular army, and nothing could have been more inopportune than for Dundee's physical strength to fail him thus when he was most in need of it. With his Highlanders he had severely and constantly pressed Mackay and his troops, unaccustomed as they were to fighting in the mountains under the physical difficulties of a wild and rugged country. Mackay, moreover, as we have seen, had been forced by the impetuosity of the Highlanders away from the easier and more obvious line of retreat by the Spey Valley upon Rothes and Keith, and had been compelled to make his way across the Cromdale Hills to the Livet Valley and Strathbogie. His army must have been much dispirited, and it was only the timely arrival of his reinforcements at Suy Hill, coupled with the illness of Dundee, and consequent demoralisation of the Highlanders, which saved King William's General from disaster. Dundee's illness "gave boldness to the disorderly" in his small force and disheartened the others.¹

The fatigues of the campaign had been continuous ; and for the General there was the added strenuous exertion of incessantly invigorating and inspiring his followers.

In one of his letters to Melfort, Dundee praises Lord Dunkeld, Lord Dunfermline, "Pitcur, and many other gentlemen," who, he says, "really deserve well for they suffer great hardships." They suffered no hardship which he did not share ; and in addition to those bodily privations, which he endured in common with his officers and men, he carried the ceaseless weight of a stupendous responsibility which he could not share with anyone. On him alone, on his strength, daring and diplomacy, depended the restoration of King James.

The Standard-Bearer testifies that when exposure, weariness, and pangs of hunger bordering on starvation, sorely tried the patience of the troops, they dared not for very shame complain except in secret, because their leader—always the same and consistent—set them an unfailing example of gallant endurance and unbroken cheerfulness.

Dalrymple of Cranstoun, the generous-minded Whig historian, gives the same impression :

¹ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 356.

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“If anything good was brought to him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigue, not so much by exhortation as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings. For this reason he walked on foot with the men, now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another. He amused them with jokes; he flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies, he animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims that no General should fight with an irregular army unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded.”¹

That the physical and mental strain should have eventually told on him is only to say that he was human; even Montrose had temporarily succumbed to similar conditions, and when, after defeating the enemy at Aberdeen, he had retreated to the wilds of Badenoch, he had been so disabled by exhaustion and by sudden illness that a rumour went forth of his death. The Covenanters had promptly ordained a day of public thanksgiving; but their jubilation was cut short by the recovery to health and vigour of their formidable enemy.² In Claverhouse's case the foe likewise indulged in bursts of premature rejoicing over the “low and wretched state” to which his health had been reduced; but he was also destined to revive and smite new fears into the hearts of his political opponents.

Among his secret friends at this time were the Scots Dragoons who formerly had acted under him; and while he was laid low at Edinglassie they contrived to send him warning of Mackay's intended night attack, and of the English reinforcements by which he had been joined that day at Suy Hill. They told him too of a report that the auxiliary troops sent over by King James from Dublin had been repulsed with heavy loss, and that the Duke of Berwick had been taken prisoner in Ireland.³

¹ Dalrymple, vol. ii., Part II., Book II., p. 74. See also *Grameid*, pp. 91, 92; Balcarres, p. 45; Balhaldie, p. 293.

² Wishart, trans. Murdoch and Simpson, p. 72.

³ A newsletter of May 12, 1689, embodies a similar rumour, and announces that the

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This was extremely disconcerting, and moreover the messengers declared that, though Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone was still resolved to bring his men back to the standard of Dundee, he was at present so hemmed in by the newly arrived English Horse and Dragoons that in the event of an immediate battle he might be forced to fight for General Mackay. Therefore he ventured to advise that Lord Dundee should "go out of the way" before Mackay reached Edinglassie.

In the circumstances the advice was sound. King James's General, at so critical a time and with so disorganised an army, could not afford to risk defeat, when—as he wrote afterwards to Melfort—the least reverse "would have discouraged all." He thought if he could "gain time, and keep up the figure of a party without loss," it was the utmost he could do until he got assistance, "which the enemy got from England every day."¹

Accordingly there seemed no choice but to retreat by the way he came; and when Mackay reached Edinglassie, intending to surprise and crush Dundee, he found the castle sacked and his enemy vanished.

But the messengers who had conveyed the warning from the Scots Dragoons had not had time to get back to Suy Hill before Mackay set out. They hid in the woods of Edinglassie, but Major Mackay, the nephew of the General, discovered them, and soon divined their errand. It appears that Claverhouse's prisoners, the Lairds of Blair and Pollok, who had so much against their wills been forced to march

Duke of Berwick and "above thirty of the nobility" had been taken prisoners by the people of Londonderry, who (says the mendacious newsmonger) "made a most vigorous sally upon the besiegers" and totally routed them, "killing 800 from the walls" and the rest "by the sword." "And further, that garrison sent word to King James . . . that if he sent any more forces to besiege that city, they would hang up his son [the Duke of Berwick] at the gate." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 12, App. VII., p. 241. Another newsletter in the following month (undated) says "From the North of Ireland we are informed . . . that the Duke of Berwick is dead of his wounds in prison." (*Ibid.* p. 246.) This volume of the Hist. Comm. Reports contains a number of post-Revolution newsletters, many of them full of the wildest exaggerations, inaccuracies and inventions.

¹ "I have told the King," he adds, "that I had neither commission, money, nor ammunition." (Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 360-366.)

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with him from Perth, had taken their revenge by corrupting one of his men, whom they employed to carry word to General Mackay that they had heard Dundee say he was sure of the Dragoons, and they had seen him reading "letters from his Lady to the same purpose."¹ Thus it happened that Lieutenant-Colonel Livingstone, Captain Crichton, two other suspected captains, a lieutenant of the name of Murray, and their messenger, a sergeant called Provensal, were all arrested as conspirators; and with them a servant of Captain Alexander Bruce (late of the Scots Dragoons, whom we have seen already as an officer in Claverhouse's army).

These delinquents were all despatched to Edinburgh, under a guard of 300 soldiers, so as to prevent escape or rescue; and Mackay wrote Hamilton his views of how they should be treated. Bishop Burnet solemnly asserts that General Mackay's humanity was so excessive as to make him scarcely fit for military command; but this is merely one of "Gibby's" characteristic flourishes. Mackay himself makes no such ludicrous claim. On the contrary he asks that a flying packet should be sent to Court to make known that he thinks Provensal and his fellows should be tortured; he further suggests that Murray, the Lieutenant, also particularly deserves this drastic form of punishment.² Had any such suggestion ever come from Claverhouse, all Scotland would be ringing with it still; but what is wicked in a Cavalier is virtue in a Whig, and so Mackay has come down to posterity (on Bishop "Gibby's" word) as most astoundingly humane; while Claverhouse, who tempered justice with a reasonable mercy, and who was far ahead of his own day in this respect,³ is execrated as a cruel and inhuman monster. So great a penalty is paid for fighting on the losing side.

Claverhouse, while Mackay was seeking him at Edinglassie, had gone to Auchindoune, a square grey tower on a dreary knoll above the water of Fiddich, in a bleak treeless country.⁴

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 240.

³ See Chapter V., pp. 142-143 *ante*.

⁴ The castle is two miles south-east of Dufftown. It is said to have been built by Cochrane, the ill-fated favourite of King James III.

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On the morning of Friday, June the 7th, he started his long march, through Glenlivet, back to Cromdale—this time as the quarry, not the hunter ; but he did not let the clansmen have the least suspicion of his reasons for retreat. To know the truth, he thought, would probably depress them, so he gave out that he had decided to retrace his steps in order to be present at a rendezvous in Badenoch, to which—so rumour said—more islanders and distant clansmen were already thronging.¹ On the march some of his men went off to their own homes, especially the Duke of Gordon's horsemen, in spite of Lord Dunfermline's efforts to control them. Some were seized by Mackay's friends, Gordon of Edinglassie and Grant of Grant, who promptly hanged them on the nearest trees.²

Encamped at Cromdale for the night, after the day's march, the Highlanders were suddenly aroused by loud shouts from the sentinels, who cried out that the enemy was close at hand. Such an alarm is a good test of the condition of an army. Even brave men have been seized with panic in such circumstances, and disciplined soldiers under cover of the darkness and confusion have turned their weapons madly against each other.³ But no sooner was the alarm given to the Highland host at Cromdale on this night of June the 7th than "the lightning-like Grahame" called to his men to gather at once together and prepare to meet the foe. There was no panic. The trumpets sounded, and the clansmen "in compact bodies" made ready for the approaching fight. Like greyhounds straining in the leash they waited ; and then came the absurd dénouement—the enemy proved, on inspection, to be nothing more alarming than a flock of sheep.⁴

¹ Balhaldie, p. 244.

² Dundee to Melfort, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 364 ; Balhaldie, p. 244 ; Napier, vol. iii., p. 603.

³ See Lord Wolseley's "Story of a Soldier's Life" for a graphic account of the horrors of a night attack (vol. i., pp. 369-371).

⁴ *Grameid*, pp. 205-207. It would seem from Balhaldie's "Memoirs" that whoever may have been surprised on this occasion Dundee was not, as he had decided (on Lochiel's advice) to give a false alarm, that he might find out how the Highlanders

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Dundee, delighted by the promptitude and alacrity of his men, warmly commended them. Telling them they had well proved their mettle, he bade them return to their extemporised couches and sleep till daylight; they should soon enough have the fighting they so ardently desired.¹

It appears as though Dundee after his illness must have taxed his strength too soon by the retreat to Cromdale, for the next two days he "did not march six miles in all,"² though clearly he was just as wishful to avoid Mackay as formerly he had been anxious to engage him.

Mackay, who had lost time in seeking him at Balveny, marched back again to Culnakyle on the banks of the Nethy, whence five days previously he had been forced to fly north-east from the pursuing Highland army.³ Now the situation was reversed, so hearing that Dundee was encamped across the river, and hidden somewhere in the Abernethy woods, Mackay decided that a party must be sent in search of him. At Edinglassie he had learnt the welcome tidings that Dundee had fallen ill, and further, from having captured sundry stragglers, he judged the Highland army had got out of hand. Apparently this was an excellent moment to attack. That evening (June the 9th) he bade Sir Thomas Livingstone take 200 Horse and Dragoons, both Scots and English, and essay to find Dundee. The main force he kept ready to bring up to Livingstone's support should it be needed, for

would behave in case of the enemy coming upon them unexpectedly. He was (says Balhaldie) "wonderfully pleased" with the success of the experiment, for his men, on hearing that the foe was at hand, flew to their colours "with all the alacrity and promptitude imaginable," crying out that the "cowardly dogs" must not again be allowed to escape (p. 278). Balhaldie places this episode at Edinglassie, but the Standard-Bearer who was present is more likely to be correct in placing it at Cromdale. Balhaldie says that the appearance of Lord Dunfermline and his horsemen on "a certain rising ground that lay at some distance" was the cause of the alarm; he suppresses the sheep, in which one is inclined to believe for the reason that it is improbable that the Standard-Bearer would have thought of inventing them. Balcarres had heard the story of the false alarm, but he places it the night before the battle of Killiecrankie, which is evidently a mistake.

¹ *Grameid*, p. 207. It was at this very place that the remnant of the Jacobite army under Major-General Thomas Buchan was surprised and defeated in the following year by Sir Thomas Livingstone of Glencoe fame.

² Hay's report, Macpherson, "*Orig. Papers*," vol. i., p. 356.

³ See Map A, and Itineraries, Appendix VI.

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he knew Dundee was not far off, though he was quite uncertain of his whereabouts.

Then came a rumour that Grant of Grant, who was out foraging, was being hard pressed by the enemy, and so Sir Thomas, taking with him Hawley (Lieutenant-Colonel of Berkeley's Dragoons), set out to the rescue.

The evening was advancing, and it happened that a promised contingent of Macleans of Duart, some 200 strong, under young Hector Maclean of Lochbuie, was on the way to join Lord Dundee. They marched along beside the Spey in somewhat careless and haphazard fashion, as Lochbuie knew nothing of Mackay's proximity and thought himself secure in friendly country. Suddenly he caught sight of a squadron of Horse, and for a moment took them for Dundee's.

But the horsemen, seeing him from afar, came on at a full gallop, and they proved to be Dragoons in English uniforms. Lochbuie, though taken thus completely by surprise, showed admirable presence of mind. Gathering his men together he made them run until they reached the neighbouring hill of Knockbrecht. Up the boulders they scrambled, seizing huge stones to hurl down at the troopers, who advanced in hot pursuit and now surrounded them.

Amongst their foemen were some of the very Scots Dragoons who had intended to desert Mackay; the greater number were, however, English soldiers who had recently come north. They were led on by a spirited young captain—Anthony Ovington by name¹—who taunted the Macleans as savage robbers, and adjured them to come down and fight on level ground.

Their answer was a shower of stones and shot.

Exasperated, Captain Ovington dismounted, and in stubborn British fashion led his men up the steep hillside.² He looked a gallant figure in his brilliant scarlet uniform with rich gold lace, his fur-lined jacket hanging over his left shoulder.³ Challenging Lochbuie, he threatened him and

¹ Dalton, Eng. Army Lists, vol ii., p. 235.

² Balhaldie, pp. 344-345.

³ *Grameid*, p. 213 and note.

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scoffed again at his barbarians ; but the barbarians, claymore in hand, charged down, drove back the men, and killed their dauntless leader.

Dundee, who meanwhile had been roused by sounds of musket fire, placed outposts by the Spey, and sent Macdonald of Glencoe to meet Lochbuie, whom he expected, and conduct him into camp. In the small hours of the morning the Macleans arrived exultant, having chased the foemen, captured many horses, and stripped the dead dragoons of golden gorgets, scarlet coats, and feather-tufted helmets. Laden with spoil, they came in radiant and rejoicing, and were welcomed with hearty cheers from all the Highland gathering.¹

Dundee then marched back to Ruthven in Badenoch. There he heard that Colonel Ramsay, with 1100 Foot and 100 Horse, had by the help of Lord Murray succeeded in passing through to Inverness. Learning on the following day that Ramsay and Mackay had joined forces and were on his track, and that they were further supported by the arrival of additional troops at Perth and at Dunblane, Dundee continued his retreat.² Lochiel invited him to return "to his old quarters at Strone, assuring him that while there was a cow in Lochaber neither he nor his men should want."³ He had at first intended to go to Rannoch, "but finding that Lochiel's men were going away every night by forties and fifties, with droves of cattle," and that the others, laden with plunder from the lands of Grant, were also impatient to go home with all their spoils, he returned with them to Lochaber where he dismissed the greater number, bidding them be ready to rejoin him if the enemy pursued.⁴

On his march back to Lochaber he was at last met by the belated Sir Alexander Maclean, with 200 men from Argyllshire, mostly Macdonalds of Largo and Gallachy, who had suffered "hunger and want of sleep with great

¹ *Grameid*, 216.

² Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 357.

³ Balhaldie, p. 247.

⁴ Hay's report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 359.

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patience," being "heartly and eager"¹ to see "Dark John the Warrior" whose fame by this time had spread far and wide.

Shortly afterwards he was further reinforced by Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, "illustrious in war beyond his years," attended by "five hundred fiery youths" armed with sword and spear.² And from the "dark isle" of Uist came 600 of the men of Clanranald, with their gallant young Chief, who, being then only sixteen years of age, was still under the tutorship of Donald Macdonald of Benbecula. "Notwithstanding the tenderness of his years," says Balhaldie, he must needs follow the Royal Standard that he might be early initiated into the service of King James, whom he never afterwards deserted.³

Mackay, who was now well reinforced, and who not long ago had undertaken to defeat and capture Claverhouse, had by this time realised the magnitude of such an undertaking. After an exceptionally trying retreat, and subsequent futile advance, he saw it would in no way profit him to struggle to pursue the Highlanders into their mountain strongholds. Withdrawal north to Inverness was, in the circumstances, the most reasonable course; and after staying at Inverness a fortnight, to see whether the enemy would "undertake anything further,"⁴ he slowly and steadily made his way southwards to civilisation and Edinburgh.

Claverhouse on his part, having done all that was possible for the time being, withdrew like a wise strategist in order to prepare for a still stronger attack upon his adversary when the odds should be more clearly in his favour.

In the meantime he had every reason to be satisfied with the prowess of his army. The way in which Mackay had

¹ Hay's Report, Macpherson, vol. i., p. 359.

² 500 is the Standard-Bearer's estimate. Balhaldie says he brought 700 men, and "conducted himself according to the strictest rules of religion and morality. He looked upon his clan as his children, and upon the King as the father of his country, and as he was possessed of a very opulent fortune handed down to him by a long race of very noble ancestors, so he lived in the greatest affluence, but with a wise economy." ("Memoirs of Lochiel," p. 248.)

³ See Appendix IX.: Subsequent Fate of Dundee's Officers.

⁴ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 40.

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been so swiftly and relentlessly hunted was certain to increase the clansmen's confidence in their own powers, and augment their scorn for regular troops. The subsequent retreat had not depressed them, for the real cause was concealed by Claverhouse, and finally the skirmish at Knockbrecht, the overthrow and death of Captain Ovington, and subsequent pursuit of the Dragoons and capture of so many of their horses had proved exceedingly inspiring to the "barbarians." Accordingly they dispersed to their homes elated with these achievements, and only lamenting that the untimely illness of their General had balked them of final victory in the vale of Strathbogie.

It is small wonder that they responded eagerly to the imperative summons which, a few weeks later, was to call them forth again. Confident in their leader, and on fire with warlike ardour, they were to sweep down with resistless force upon the troops of General Mackay, troops unnerved by previous failure and alarmed by the surprising methods of such "savage" adversaries.¹

These "savages" however were, on occasion, capable (as we have seen) of being almost as embarrassing to friends as foes; and sundry episodes in the campaign reveal how strong a hand was needed to control them. Claverhouse combined a thorough understanding of their temper with a firm resolve to sway them with no dubious authority; and this is illustrated not only by his attitude towards Keppoch but in the following anecdote, related by Balhaldie, who would presumably have had it from his grandfather Lochiel.

It will be remembered that one of Mackay's few zealous supporters north of the Tay was Grant of Grant, who, when so lucky as to capture stragglers from the enemy's force, was wont immediately to hang them without trial. This naturally had roused considerable resentment in Dundee's small army, and accordingly a party of the Camerons took counsel secretly together and made plans for vengeance. They knew their leader had most stringently forbidden private plunder or

¹ Mackay's initial feelings of confidence had been succeeded by dismay. Vide his own remarks on his "impatience to see the end of the war." ("Memoirs," p. 45.)

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aggression ; the rebuke he had administered to Keppoch was imprinted on their memories ; but they believed that it would be a different matter if, on their return from punishing the Grants, they brought into the camp for general use some droves of cattle. With considerable guile they did not ask leave lest it be refused, but slunk off stealthily and unperceived.

It happened that in company with the Grants of Grant was one Macdonald, clansman and remote relation of Gengarry, who, says Balhaldie, "imagined that the simple merit of his name" would suffice to protect him and the entire clan of Grant from the just vengeance of the Camerons. "Confident of this, he came boldly up to them, and, acquainting them with his name and genealogy, he desired that on his account they would peaceably depart the country without injuring the inhabitants, his neighbours and friends."

The Camerons pertinently replied that if he were indeed a Macdonald he ought to be with his Chief in Dundee's army. They were willing to oblige him in reason, but could not extend their friendship to the Grants, who only a few days since had seized on several of their men and hanged them "without any other provocation than that they had served King James."

Advising Macdonald to remove himself and his cattle, the Camerons declared their intention of punishing the Grants to the best of their ability. "But the Macdonald replied that he would run the same fate with his neighbours ; and daring them to do their worst, departed in a huff."

It was not to be expected that the indignant Camerons should waste more time in argument ; and accordingly, without further parley, they killed some of the Grants in a brisk skirmish, then dispersed the rest, and, after capturing the much desired cattle and provisions, set out in triumph for Lochaber.

As they anticipated, the arrival of the cattle was so opportune that Lord Dundee condoned the independent enterprise, especially as Grant was openly enrolled among King James's enemies.

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“But,” narrates Balhaldie, “the forementioned Macdonald having had the ill-fate to be killed in the skirmish, Glengarry resented his death so highly that in a great rage he went to Lord Dundee, and demanded satisfaction on Lochiel and the Camerons.”

Claverhouse dryly replied that it would “puzzle the ablest judges” to decide what “satisfaction” could be rationally claimed. If anyone should complain it was himself, the General, inasmuch as the aggressors had acted without orders.

It was Glengarry’s habit to ingratiate himself with his men by humouring their vanity, and showing them that “the least injury offered to the very meanest of them was equally his personal quarrel”¹; and accordingly he replied that the affront was no less gross to the General than to himself, and should be sternly punished. Lord Dundee then said that had the Camerons been troops regularly paid and disciplined, undoubtedly they would have been liable to such punishment as a council of war should have thought proper to inflict; but as they fought voluntarily for the King, and were quite unacquainted with military law, all that he could attempt to do was to save the country in general from needless ravages. In the present case, the provocation of the Camerons was very great; and they had fought in “a common quarrel, and had distributed the booty, which came seasonably enough to supply their urgent necessities. Besides, they had troubled none but the King’s open and declared enemies; and though it was irregularly done, yet he thought it good policy to connive at it.” But, on the other hand, he was at a loss to understand Glengarry’s grievance. They had, it was true, killed a fellow of his clan, who was of the Grants’ party and refused to separate from them; but—said Claverhouse, with characteristic sarcasm—“If such an accident is a just ground for raising disturbance in our small army, we shall not dare engage the enemies of the King lest there may chance to be among them someone of your name and following, who possibly may happen to be killed.”²

¹ Balhaldie, p. 255.

² *Ibid.* p. 254.

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Glengarry—somewhat oddly described by his admirer Balhaldie as possessed of faults which, like the modish patches on a pretty face, served to give “added lustre” to his virtues—doubtless found this suave derision very disconcerting. After various threats and boastings—which proved to be all sound and fury, signifying nothing—he dined that day with Claverhouse, in company with Lochiel, for whose heart’s blood he had professedly been thirsting a few hours previously.¹

The incident is typical, and shows the constant need of Claverhouse’s personal influence upon his turbulent supporters.

¹ Balhaldie, p. 255.

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We have his letters, printed from the originals, exhibiting a state of education and a cultivation of mind which, as Mr Macaulay said, would have disgraced a washerwoman. — NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, May, 1850.

There is no part of the Belles Lettres which he had not studied with great care and exactness. He was much master of the epistolary way of writing for he not only expressed himself with great ease and plainness, but argued well, and had a great art in giving his thoughts in a few words. — DRUMMOND OF BALHALDIE.

Chapter X: Diplomacy

May-July, 1689

MR JOHN HILL BURTON, in his "History of Scotland,"¹ assures us that "any smattering of education" Claverhouse may have possessed must have been "rubbed out in the camp of the mercenary soldier." The statement is made in all innocence and gravity, so much so that it seems unkind to suggest that St Andrews professed to provide the student with something more than a "smattering" of education, and that a man's education was considered to be rather completed than destroyed by foreign service, especially under such leaders as Turenne and William of Orange.

There was no part of "the *belles lettres*" Lord Dundee had not studied with "great care and exactness," says Balhaldie, and "he was much master of the epistolary way of writing, for he not only expressed himself with great ease and plainness, but argued well" and had the art of giving his thoughts in a few words.²

It will be interesting to quote a few more of Dundee's most characteristic letters, leaving them to speak for themselves.

"Your friends who knew him best," writes Balcarres to the King, "were in doubt if his civil or military capacities were the most eminent. None of this nation so well knew

¹ Vol i., p. 98 (ed. 1853).

² Balhaldie, "Memoirs," p. 279.

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the different interests, tempers, and inclinations of the men most capable to serve you ; none had more the ability to insinuate and persuade.”¹

The most illuminating portion of his correspondence belongs to the four or five weeks’ lull in the campaign previous to his victory and death.

“ My Lord Dundee [says Hay’s report] hath continued in Lochaber, guarded only by 200 [men], commanded by Sir Alexander Maclean ; but being in the heart of Glengarry and Lochiel’s lands he thinks himself secure enough, though he had not, as he has, the Captain of Clan Ranald with 600 men within ten miles of him, and [Sir John] Maclean, Sir Donald [Macdonald of Sleat] and Macleod [of Raasay] marching towards him ; so that he can march with near 4000, or refresh in safety until such time as the state of affairs of Ireland may allow the King to send forces to his relief ; which if it please God shall fall out, there is all appearance of forming a considerable army ; notwithstanding that the people are a little disheartened by the unexpected surrender of the Castle of Edinburgh, which is said was only by despair the Duke had of any relief, though he wanted not from my Lord Dundee, by a third hand, all the encouragement he could give.”²

How Dundee managed to communicate from the Highlands with the besieged Duke of Gordon shut up in Edinburgh Castle we have unfortunately no knowledge ; but that he succeeded in so doing is one of many indications that he left nothing undone that could promote the King’s service.

Such portions of his correspondence as have survived show that he made ceaseless and untiring efforts to win over to King James’s cause every man of note who had not actually joined Mackay. Cluny Macpherson during the early stages of the campaign had been the recipient of several of his most persuasive letters, which blandishments were the more neces-

¹ Balcarres, Bannatyne Club, p. 47.

² Report brought by Hay to King James in Ireland. Received July 7. (Macpherson, vol. i., p. 358.) The Castle had been surrendered by the Duke of Gordon on June 14.

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sary as Cluny had been approached by the new Government in terms which took for granted his opposition to Dundee. On May the 10th orders were sent to him from the Committee of Estates bidding him gather together his "friends, kinsmen, vassals, followers, and tenants . . . with their best horses and arms," and form them "into troops, companies, or a regiment, with power to name his inferior officers and to grant commissions accordingly." He was commanded to take speedy measures against the "fugitive and rebel" Viscount of Dundee; to "seize and secure any priests or Jesuits within the shire of Inverness," and to "disarm all Papists within the said shire, reserving to gentlemen their wearing swords."¹ And Mackay wrote to him:

"SIR,—I cannot believe you so much an enemy to your eternal and temporal happiness as to join with a company of Papists, or worse than Papists, such as sacrifice all that ought to be of value to men of reason and piety . . . [and] labour to overturn the begun deliverance which God hath in his mercy wrought this far for us."²

Claverhouse on his part was equally decisive:

"May 19th, 1689.

"SIR,—I hear Major-General Mackay has been by threats and promises endeavouring to engage you in his rebellion against our lawful Sovereign King James, but I know your constant loyalty, your honour, and your conscience will secure you against such proposals.

"I have now received letters from Ireland by which I am sure nothing but want of fair wind can hinder the landing of a considerable force in this country from thence, and that the King will be with us very soon. In the meantime he is pleased to appoint me to be Lieutenant-General and command the forces, whereupon I am to require all honest men to attend the King's Standard. I persuade myself you will not be wanting in so good an occasion as this is of endeavouring

¹ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., pp. 17, 18.

² Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle, No. II., pp. 29-30. Mackay's letters to Cluny are from Elgin, May 6, 1689, and Inverness, May 21, 1689.

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under God to restore our gracious monarch. I will not desire you to appear in arms until such time as you shall see us in body able to preserve you, which I hope in God you shall in a few days see.

"There is one thing I forewarn you of, not to be alarmed with the danger they would make you believe the Protestant religion is in. They must make religion the pretext, as it has been in all times, of rebellion. I am as much concerned in the Protestant religion as any man, and will do my endeavours to see it secured. I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE,"¹

A further appeal from Mackay was followed by a succession of letters from Dundee: but Cluny sat resolutely on the fence, and even on the eve of Killiecrankie, Dundee was still trying to dislodge him from this safe if unheroic position. On June the 22nd Dundee received a long-delayed letter from the King, and on the strength of the promises it contained and the hopes it held out he wrote on the following day to Macleod of Macleod.

"Moy [in Lochaber],
June 23rd, 1689."

"SIR,—Glengarry gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from you. I shall only tell you that if you hasten not to land your men I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the King great service, for if he land in the west of Scotland you will come too late, as I believe you will think yourself by the news I have to tell you. The Prince of Orange hath written to the Scots Council not to fatigue his troops by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the West, and accordingly several of the forces that were in Perthshire and Angus are drawn to Edinburgh, and some of Mackay's regiments are marched that way from him."²

Then follow an array of statements calculated to impress

¹ Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle, No II., pp. 21, 22.

² For the Prince's instructions to this effect see Cal. S.P. Dom. Wm. and Mary, 1689, pp. 134, 135.

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Macleod with the consciousness that it would be well for him to declare for the King while he can still do so with honour.

Fifty-two French men-of-war have been seen off the coast of Ireland, and eighty more are coming from Brest, with 15,000 soldiers on board. The siege of Londonderry, which had so long detained the King in Ireland, was nearly at an end; probably even by now the town had surrendered; three weeks ago horseflesh was being sold at sixpence a pound, and "for cannon-bullets they were shooting lumps of brick wrapped in pewter plates."

In short, the King

"being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed already in the West. He will have little to oppose him there, and probably will march towards England; so that we who are in the greatest readiness will have ado to join him."

Dundee goes on to say that Mr Hay, who brought all this news, had brought him also from the King his promised "commission of Lieutenant-General which was miscarried by Brady,"¹ and also two royal letters, both of which are so kind that he is "ashamed" to quote them—the King counting as great service that in which, declares the King's most faithful servant, "I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my duty."

Then comes an appeal to Macleod's self-interest:

"He promises, not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favour as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is in being loyal. He says in express terms that his favours shall vie with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters . . . given us power, with the rest of his friends, to meet in a Convention by his authority to counteract the mock Convention at Edinburgh."

¹ In the Museum of the Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society there is a letter from James to Dundee, dated March 29, in which the King says, "We are not only in a condition to defend the Kingdom, but to send you such supplies as you may judge fit for our service. We have therefore resolved to send our commission as Lieutenant-General to you, to command such forces as can be raised." See also "Letters," Bann. Club, pp. 35-37.

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The members of the Edinburgh Convention his Majesty has pronounced traitors and has consequently commanded "all his loyal subjects to make war against them; in obedience to which I have called all the Clans."

Macdonald of Clanranald, Macneil of Barra, Macdonald of Sleat, Stuart of Appin, Macdonald of Glencoe, Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonell of Glengarry and Macdonald of Keppoch "are all ready."

"Maclean lands in Morven to-morrow . . . Sir Alexander [Maclean] and [Macdonald of] Largie have been here with their men all this while with me; so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about three thousand. You may judge what we will get in Stratherrick, Badenoch, Atholl, Mar, and the Duke of Gordon's lands; besides the loyal shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Mearns, Angus, Perth and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the North, as the King's army will be of the South.

"I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Breadalbane, who I suppose will now come to the fields. Dumbeth with two hundred horse and eight hundred foot are said to be endeavouring to join us. My Lord Seaforth will be in a few days from Ireland to raise his men for the King's service.

"Now I have laid the whole business before you, you will easily know what is fit for you to do. All I shall say further is to repeat and renew the desire of my former letter, and assure you that I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE.

"You will receive the King's letter to you."¹

Five days later (June the 28th, 1689) he was writing to Macnaughton of Dunderaw:

"I doubt not but you have received the King's Commission; it will be hard for you to raise your regiments; however, do your best, a man that has good will will find ways. So I desire you will get ready as soon as you can all your

¹ "Letters," Bann. Club, pp. 38-42, facsimile facing p. 42. Napier, vol. iii., pp. 597-598, facsimile facing p. 598.

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name followers and kindly men¹ wherever they are, and march them this way.”²

In this manner Dundee strove to rouse the indifferent and reassure the wavering ; but this, we suspect, was a congenial task in comparison to the difficulty of soothing the jealousy of Lord Melfort, the King's Secretary, a most trying man to work with. Melfort was uniformly execrated both by those who coveted his position and those who thought he had abused it, and there is no reason to think that his detractors were wide of the mark when they held him responsible for many of the King's most ill-advised measures.

Dundee appears to have combined a liking for the man with a strong disapproval of his conduct as a politician ; and apparently some meddlesome person had striven to make mischief between them. In comment on this unfortunate state of affairs, Dundee wrote to Melfort from Moy in Lochaber (June the 27th, 1689) :

“I was not a little surprised to find by yours that my name has been made use of for carrying on designs against you. Mr Carleton³ is extremely in the wrong if he says I gave him any commission to the King, or warrant to say anything to him in my name. Earl Breadalbane sent him to me with a credential which he desired me to burn so soon as I had read it. I had never seen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company, and when he gave me account of his pretended business to Ireland, I disliked most of it. . . . I leave you to judge if it be

¹ “Feudal tenants, termed *kindly* from the circumstance of their being *natives*, born on those lands which had been possessed by their ancestors for generations.” (Pitcairn's “Criminal Trials,” vol. iii., p. 366, note, Edinburgh, 1833.) They paid rent in kind, not in money ; and paid lower rents than others, in consideration that they belonged to the place, and that their forefathers had served the chief's forefathers. (Sir J. C. Dalrymple Hay, “Northern Notes and Queries,” vol. i., pp. 188-189.)

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12068, f. 137. (Letter dated Lochiel, June 28, 1689.) Macnaughton of Dunderaw rose to the occasion, for Lieutenant Nisbet “depones that he saw Macnaughton and John Macnaughton his uncle both in arms, joined with the rebels at Blair of Atholl, Loch Rannoch, and Mull, both after the fight at Killiecrankie and the engagement at Dunkeld.” (Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., p. 56.)

³ Presumably the Thomas Carleton who writes to Breadalbane from Dublin (June 18, 1689). (Fraser, “The Melvilles and the Leslie's,” vol. ii., p. 108.)

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probable that I would intrust myself so far to any in such circumstances."

If he had wished to make any accusation against Melfort, he would, he says, have written direct to his Majesty :

"I will assure you all my endeavours to lay you aside were only to yourself. I thought myself bound in duty to the King and friendship to you not to dissemble to you the circumstances you stand in. . . . Your merit and rising fortune has raised envy ; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and, I am feared, even with his ambitious friends, which I am sure can never be imagined to be one with me, for I can never have any pretensions in your way."¹

Yet he feels obliged to say that Melfort has given offence to many, and that "the most universal pretext" is his violence in matters connected with religion :

"You know what the Church of England is in England ; and, both here and there, they generally say that the King of himself is not disposed to push matters of religion or force people to do things they scrupled in conscience" but that Melfort had "prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination, to do what he did—which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and the monarchy. This being,—as I assure you it is, however unjust,—the general opinion of these nations, I thought, in prudence for your own sake as well as the King's, you would have thought it best to seem to be out of business for a time," in which case the King's affairs might "go smoother" and all pretext for rebellion would be taken away. "I am obliged to tell you that if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. . . . But I think I have said enough if not too much of this.

"My Lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here ; but to you I will be more particular. As to

¹ That is to say, Dundee's work was military and Melfort's civilian, and there was no need of rivalry between them.

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myself I have sent you it at large. You may by it understand a little of the state of the country.

"You will see there when I had a seen advantage I endeavoured to profit on it; but on the other hand shunned to hazard anything for fear of a ruffle; for the least of that would have discouraged all. I thought if I could gain time and keep up a figure of a party without loss, it was my best till we got assistance, which the enemy got from England every day."

Lack of money and ammunition were two great drawbacks, and Dundee pleads for arms and ammunition and expresses astonishment at not having heard from Melfort for three months. As for money, he says,

"My brother-in-law Auldbar,¹ and my wife, found ways to get credit. For my own nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was extremely surprised when I saw Mr Drummond, the advocate,² in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and give account that the Queen had sent £2000 sterling to London to be paid to me for the King's service, and that two more was a-coming. I did not know the Queen had known anything of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her with Mr Crane, but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes I shall keep count of it, and employ it right. But I am feared it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh."

¹ Young of Auldbar, husband of Claverhouse's sister Anna, was grandson of Sir Peter Young of Easter Seaton, who, as tutor to James VI., and subsequently as James's ambassador to Denmark, had attained some eminence. Auldbar (in Forfarshire) was acquired by Young in 1670. (Fraser, "History of the Carnegies," vol. ii., p. 300.)

Claverhouse's niece, Anna Young, married James Barclay of Balmekevan, and had a son, William, who became heir to his cousin, Francis Grahame of Morphie, the only surviving son of Claverhouse's elder sister Magdalen. William Barclay added the name of Grahame to his own, and his descendants are the nearest representatives of Claverhouse now in existence. They are so fortunate as to possess various family relics of considerable interest, notably the knife and fork which Claverhouse is supposed to have used as a child (with carved ivory handles representing Adam and Eve respectively); also a table painted and "japanned" by Anna Grahame of Claverhouse; and a pair of Claverhouse's gloves, of grey suede, gauntleted, and fringed with silver. These gloves are of medium size (rather small for a man), long-fingered, loose and shapeless according to the fashion of the day. (Information from Miss B. M. Barclay-Grahame of Morphie.)

² David Drummond, afterwards Treasurer of the Bank of Scotland.

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There is no evidence that Dundee ever received this money, and every reason to suppose he did not.

“When we first came out [he continues] I had but fifty pounds of powder. More I could not get. All the great towns and sea-ports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage—the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad sword.”

It was this habit of the Highlanders of exchanging a stationary fire fight for a hand-to-hand combat which was to prove the keynote of the victory at Killiecrankie.

Dundee next reports the conduct and dispositions of the various Scottish nobles for whom the King had sent him letters to deliver when he could find an opportunity. This was by no means easy, as many of the people to whom the letters were directed were either “put in bond or in prisons, or gone out of the country. The Advocate¹ is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Atholl is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Home, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but will be let out on security. Earl Breadalbane keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Erroll stays at home. So does Aberdeen. Earl Marischal is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The Bishops? I know not where they are. They are now the Kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter and send copies attested to them, and keep the original till I can find out our Primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all; they generally stand right.”²

His Grace of Queensberry had been present at the town

¹ Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. He retired from public life after the Revolution; in June 1690 he was admitted a student at Oxford University, and he died 1691, aged 55.

² They had orders to cease praying for King James, and to pray henceforth for William and Mary under pain of Treason; rather than do this, many of them forfeited their benefices. The political hopes of the Scottish Episcopal Church were centred in Dundee, and fell with him.

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cross of Edinburgh when the "new mock King was proclaimed, and I hear voted for him though not for the throne vacant. His brother, the Lieutenant-General, some say is made an earl."¹

Lord Tarbat is now "a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel with offers of money"; "he is now gone up to secure his faction (which is melting), the two Dalrymples and others, against Skelmorly, Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others, now joined with that worthy Prince Duke Hamilton."

Panmure, Strathmore, Southesk and Kinnaird are "right, and at home," waiting presumably until the King should land; Airlie, Balcarres and Dunmore are "at Edinburgh, under caution"; "Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing" (to make his apologies to the Convention for having most unwillingly given Dundee a dinner); "Marquis Douglas is now a great knave as well as beast,"² Lords Glencairn, Morton, and Eglinton³ are similarly

¹ He adds that Lieutenant-General Douglas had deceived him, having sworn to him to "make amends." Douglas, it will be remembered, had—on the eve of the Revolution—suggested to Dundee that he should join the Prince of Orange; and Dundee apparently had striven to dissuade him from deserting, and had extracted a promise from him, on his "faith and honour" to remain true to King James. Captain Crichton, describing the events of 1689, relates how (early in 1689), "My Lord Dunmore being then at Edinburgh, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to his lordship, who had been also my Colonel. He was pleased to invite me to dine with him that day at a tavern; where he said Lieutenant-General Douglas . . . [and others] were to meet him. I objected against Douglas that he was not to be trusted. This was the same man who afterwards was Lieutenant-General of King William's army in Ireland. . . . His lordship answered that he would pawn his life for his honesty, because my Lord Dundee had assured him that the Lieutenant-General [Douglas] had given him his faith and honour to be with him in five days, if he marched to the hills to declare for King James. Whereupon I submitted my scruples to my Colonel's judgment; and accordingly we all met together at the tavern. Dinner was no sooner done, than we heard the news that King James was landed in Ireland. The Douglas, taking a beer glass and looking round him, said, 'Gentlemen, we have all eaten of his bread, and here is his health!' which he drank off on his knees, and all the company did the same. Then, filling another bumper he drank damnation to all who would ever draw a sword against him." ("Memoirs," pp. 80-81.)

² It was this Marquis Douglas who ultimately secured Dundee's estates after they had been confiscated by the new Government.

³ The ninth Earl of Eglinton was married to Lady Dundee's eldest sister. As Lord Montgomerie he had been one of the witnesses to Claverhouse's marriage contract.

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condemned, and "even Cassillis had gone astray, misled by Gibby."¹

Dundee gives in detail his plan for the King's landing, and tells Melfort of the way he was throwing dust not only in the eyes of the enemy but even of any friends whose discretion might not be above suspicion. He intends the King to land at Inverlochy, and therefore, in order to clear the coast in that part of the world, he has done all he could to make everyone believe that the landing would not be there at all, but further west, and consequently the Prince of Orange had "written to his Scots Council telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed" to follow the Highland army through the hills, but orders them to draw to the West. "I have," adds Dundee, after begging again for arms and ammunition,

"just now received a confirmation of Mackay's going South, and that he takes with him all the Horse and Dragoons and all the standing Foot; by which I conclude certainly they are preparing against the landing in the West. I entreat to hear from you as soon as possible; and am in the old manner most sincerely, for all the Carleton can say, My Lord, your most humble and faithful servant,

"DUNDEE."²

On June 28th he writes another long letter to Melfort³:

"As to the places of landing, I am still of the same mind. . . . The only inconveniency of the delay is that the honest suffer extremely in the low country in the time, and I dare not go down for want of Horse; and in part for fear of plundering all and so making enemies, having no pay. I wonder you send no ammunition, were it but four or five

¹ Dr Gilbert Burnet, made Bishop of Salisbury by William III. Burnet's first wife, Lady Margaret Kennedy of Cassillis (aunt of Lady Dundee), was "a lady of great repute for knowledge and religion, and zealously inclined against prelacy." (Law, p. 75.) Burnet was one of the exceptions to King James's Indemnity.

² Macpherson, vol. i., pp. 360, 366, and Bann. Club "Letters," pp. 44-53, from transcript in Nairne Papers (Bodleian Library), MS. Carte, 181, fol. 302.

³ The letter is undated, but endorsed "My Lord Dundee's letter, June 28th 1689."

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barrels, for we have not twenty pounds. As to yourself, I have told you freely my opinions, and am still of the same mind. You desire I may tell you your faults; I use to see none in my friends, and for to tell you what others find, when I do not believe them, were to lose time. But I must tell you many of them who complained of you have carried themselves so that what they say deserves not much to be noticed. However, they have poisoned the generality with prejudice against you, and England will, I am afraid, be uneasier to you than Scotland.”¹

Then comes some plain speaking as to Melfort’s position in the eyes of the King’s subjects, followed by an appeal to his better feelings :

“It is the unjustest thing in the world that not being popular must be an argument to be laid aside by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you—if once you be convinced that the necessity of the King’s affairs requires it—to do it of yourself, and beg it of him. . . . I remember when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country and in the Convention, many did tell me that there would be no living if you returned; so, when no arguments for you could prevail, I have, maybe, to smooth them, said that if all were well you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. . . . Be sure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reason. If you will allow, I will say that though you come to see the King landed, you design not to stay.”²

While Dundee, though surrounded by difficulties, was nevertheless bent on surmounting them, the representatives of the new Government made an effort to bring him to terms, which elicited so characteristic a reply that the matter is worth relating in detail. Mackay, before he returned to

¹ Lord Ailesbury, who refers in his “Memoirs” to Melfort as “a person abominated” in Scotland, wrote to the Queen and not only begged her to use her influence with the King to prevent him taking “that hated lord” to Scotland, but suggested that he should be dismissed with a pension. (Ailesbury, vol. i., p. 250.)

² Carte MS. 181, fol. 298. Macpherson’s “Orig. Papers,” vol. i., pp. 336, 367; and “Letters of Claverhouse,” Bann. Club, pp. 64-66.

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Edinburgh, had left Sir Thomas Livingstone in command of the troops at Inverness, and with him was the Earl of Sutherland's eldest son, Lord Strathnaver, who had married one of Lady Dundee's sisters.¹ On July the 3rd Strathnaver, by Livingstone's orders,² wrote recommending the Duke of Gordon's example to Dundee, warning him that his present course, if persisted in, could only lead to the ruin of himself and his family.

Dundee entirely ignored Sir Thomas Livingstone and responded with ceremoniously ironic courtesy to Strathnaver.

The manner in which he refers to his one day's delay in replying, and excuses himself on the ground that his time had been occupied at Inverlochy in the reception of reinforcements from Ireland—a seeming apology, but a fairly significant warning—is very typical of the man and his methods of argument.

“STRONE, *July* 15th, 1689.

“MY LORD,—Your Lordship's dated the 3rd, I received the 13th, and would have returned an answer before now, had I not been called suddenly to Inverlochy to give orders anent the forces, arms, and ammunition sent from Ireland. My Lord, I am extremely sensible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice, in the desperate estate you thought our affairs were in. I am persuaded it flows from your sincere goodness and concern for me and mine; and in return I assure your Lordship I have had no less concern for you, and was thinking of making the like address to you, but delayed till things should appear more clear to you.

¹ Strathnaver at a later date, when he had succeeded to the Sutherland title, is described by a contemporary as “a very honest man, a great asserter of the liberties of the people; hath a good rough sense, is open and free; a great lover of his bottle and his friend; brave in his person, which he has shown in several duels; too familiar for his quality, and often keeps company below it. Is a fat, fair-complexioned man.” (John Macky's “Characters of the Nobility of Scotland,” p. 201.)

² “Inverness, 3rd July 1689. The contents of this letter were written by my Lord Strathnaver, upon my desire, and by my orders. T. Livingstone.” (Napier, vol. iii., p. 607.)

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"I am sorry your Lordship should be so far abused¹ as to think there is any shadow of appearance of stability in this new structure of Government these men have framed to themselves. They made you, I doubt not, believe that Derry was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts,—and I can assure you,—it never was relieved and now is taken.² They told you the English fleet and Dutch were masters of the sea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Channel, in testimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For, as they came alongst, they fell on the two frigates, killed the captains, and seized the ships, and brought the men prisoners to Mull.³ They tell you Schomberg is going to Ireland to carry the war thither. I assure you, the King has landed a considerable body of forces there, and will land himself amongst our friends in the West,—whom I am sorry for,—very soon.

"So, my Lord, having given you a clear and true prospect of affairs, which, I am afraid, among your folks you are not used with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or mine, be in most danger. However, I acknowledge frankly I am no less obliged to your Lordship, seeing you made an offer of your assistance in a time when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can serve your Lordship or family at any time you think convenient, you may freely employ me: For,—as far as my duty will allow me in the circumstances we stand,—I will study your weal, as becomes, my Lord, your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE."⁴

That Dundee was at heart as serene as he outwardly appeared is improbable. Despite the fervour of his loyalty

¹ *i.e.* Deceived.

² James II. wrote to Dundee on July 7, promising to send assistance when "the siege of Derry is over, which is now near done."

³ See Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. App. VI., pp. 182, 183 for a variety of letters to the Duke of Hamilton describing the French exploits alluded to by Dundee. "The noise of this will animate such as resolve to adhere to Dundee, who is said to be still in Lochaber, and the Clans are in several bodies ready to join him."

⁴ Dalrymple, vol. ii., Part II., Book II., App., pp. 95, 96. Fraser, "Sutherland Book," vol. ii., p. 42.

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he was too clear-sighted to underrate the difficulties with which he had to contend, however much he may have thought fit to conceal them alike from his friends and from his enemies. For him to show any sign of doubt or depression would have been to give an immediate alarm and do incalculable damage, and therefore whatever may have been his private anxieties or apprehensions during his single-handed struggle against enormous odds, he appears in his diplomatic letters always confident, always cheerful, and always seemingly certain that he held the best cards. The *Grameid* describes him as "cheated of his hopes of aid, cajoled by expectations never realised," and there can be little doubt that the Stuart cause had more to dread from its King's lack of judgment than from the swords of its professed enemies. In this, as in many previous cases, James, while ignoring the advice of the one man who might have saved him, meekly submitted to be ruled by the least discerning of his advisers. It has been well said that against stupidity the gods themselves are powerless. The stupidity of James, blended as it was with a conscientiousness which from a worldly point of view was almost equally disastrous, must have been peculiarly exasperating to those who had his welfare sincerely at heart; and the intense loyalty, which while actually suffering from James's faults could still preserve an inviolable fidelity to his interests, is not now readily recognised or understood. We are apt to think of it at best as but a noble folly; yet it seems conceivable that many Scotsmen should have retained sufficient love for the traditions of their country to prefer a hereditary king, of their own race, to a new king whom they not unnaturally regarded as a Dutch usurper. The men who held to this opinion staked heavily, lost the game, and mostly died in exile. Because they were unsuccessful, we have many of us jumped too hastily to the conclusion that they were necessarily fools, and we moderns have in consequence done less than justice to their point of view, and to the intellect and judgment of their leader.

The tone in which Dundee wrote to the people whose

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alliance he desired has lost none of its vitality, and, though few now feel much sympathy for the cause in which he fought, his manner of fighting arrests immediate attention. He appealed not only to that love of the heroic which, though often dormant, is seldom altogether lacking in the human heart, but also to the common motives of vanity and self-interest which, being nearer to the surface, cannot be ignored by any diplomat who would sway others to his will.

A letter to two Highland gentlemen of the Robertson family affords a further illustration of his methods :

“ By certain accounts from Ireland [he says] I am sure the King is just at the landing. The enemy knows this and are now designing, I hear, to make a last endeavour, being in despair to prosper if the King land. They struggle to ruin all honest men. I hope, seeing you have carried yourself so well hitherto, and that so little time will relieve us and you from your trouble entirely, that you will not lose your honour nor wrong your conscience by joining with the rebels,—or looking on till honest men be ruined, which is worse. Therefore I require you in the King’s name and authority, and entreat you as your friend, to rise in arms and come to Blair of Atholl or any other place in that country that shall be thought most convenient by Pitcur and the rest of the loyal gentry of your country who will join him. You need not have the least apprehension ; I will bring such a body of men to your immediate assistance as will confound all the enemies [that] dares appear. Some are marched already. I will be with you, or meet you, with 4000 Highlanders, Islanders, and Lochaber [men] only, besides all that will join us from Badenoch, Atholl, Mar, and other loyal countries. I have a boat going immediately for Ireland to acquaint the King of all this, and to hasten to pour in troops on all hands, and advise himself to land in the West. I sent Mr Hay to him, who landed in Ireland ten days ago, to press his landing which I am sure you will see immediately ; so you have a glorious occasion, and no great danger, and I will assure you

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I will bear testimony of all your good actions, and see you rewarded. I am, Sir, your most humble Servant,

“DUNDEE.”

Dundee thus strove to indicate the fallacy of the proverb which declares that “honour and profit lie not in the same sack”; and it will have been observed that it was his habit to word his appeals in such a manner that if men could not be persuaded to join him for loyalty’s sake they should do so in the hope of concrete gain. Knowledge of the world is apt to generate a keen perception of the eternal element of comedy in life; and so in Dundee’s letters we often find irony lurking in the shadow of enthusiasm: “You have a glorious occasion,” there speaks the man of action—“and no great danger,” adds the acute observer of men’s weaknesses and follies.

There is also a characteristic and significant postscript:

“I am resolved that whoever refuses, in any part of the kingdom, to join the King’s Standard at my call who have his Majesty’s commission and authority to make war, I will hold them as traitors and treat them as enemies; but I need not suspect any of you, and I designed not to have stirred for some time. had I not heard that Major-General Mackay was to fall upon your country and Mar.”¹

If, as there is every reason to believe, Dundee was the kind of man to whom “one crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name,” it is probable that he was fortified to meet the heavy responsibility, sleepless anxiety, and unceasing mental and physical strain of his position chiefly by the exaltation that he must have felt in following the example of Montrose, his boyhood’s hero. “Nobody you could make choice of has toiled so much for honour as I have done,” he had written to Lord Menteith nearly ten years previously, “though it has been my misfortune to attain

¹ Viscount Dundee to Leonard Roberston of Strathloch and John Roberston of Bleattoune (?) Strone, July 10, 1689. (Hist. MSS. Comm. 12th Report, App. VII., pp. 38, 39.)

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but a small share.”¹ But at last the time had come for the fulfilment of his best ambitions, and the Highlanders adored him even as they had adored Montrose.

“It is not strange [says Macaulay] that the wild Scotch, as they were called, should, in the seventeenth century, have been considered by the Saxons as mere savages. But it is surely strange that, considered as savages they should not have been objects of interest and curiosity. . . . The plays and poems of that age are full of allusions to the usages of the black men of Africa and the red men of America. The only barbarian about whom there was no wish to have any information was the Highlander.”²

That the temper of these “savages” was much misunderstood, not only by Macaulay but by their own contemporaries, is very evident. The attempt of the new Government to buy Glengarry and Lochiel—two of the proudest and most independent spirits in the proud and independent Highlands—had shown amazing lack of insight into the characters of the men in question. The Revolution politicians could hardly realise that there were any men whom money could not purchase, and accordingly we find his Grace of Hamilton and the Convention, despite their failure with Glengarry and Lochiel, still cherishing vain hopes of ending the war by means of a commercial transaction. “We have by proclamation put £20,000 sterling on Dundee’s head,” writes Sir John Dalrymple on July the 24th, “which may probably catch him, who must be in the power of the clans.”³

Fifty-seven years later, when Prince Charles Edward—ruined and desperate after his final overthrow—lurked in concealment in the Highland fastnesses, not even £30,000 of English gold could tempt the faithful clansmen to betray him. And in 1689 they showed the same unanimous contempt for blood-money.

¹ “Red Book of Menteith,” vol. ii., p. 171.

² “History,” vol. iv., p. 315.

³ “Leven and Melville Papers,” p. 193. Query, pounds *Scots*? £20,000 Scots was all that had been offered for Montrose’s person.

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No copy of Sir John Dalrymple's £20,000 proclamation has come to light, but there is a proclamation of July the 18th declaring Dundee's campaign to be "open and manifest rebellion," and warning "simple and unwary people" against being ensnared by "desperate and bloody traitors," such as the "Lord Viscount" and his followers. Their Lordships of the Council however only offered the comparatively modest sum of 18,000 marks Scots (about £1000 sterling) to any "person or persons who shall apprehend the said John, Viscount of Dundee, and shall deliver him dead or alive to any of his Majesty's "commanding officers or magistrates."¹

The man who will perform this valuable service is offered, in addition to the sum named, "an absolute indemnity" for any crimes committed previously, even including the heinous crime of having served under the General whom he is thus desired to betray.

Such blandishments however were wasted ; and Dundee, safe in Lochaber, continued writing diplomatic letters and preparing strenuously for the forthcoming struggle.

On July the 14th he wrote another pressing letter to Cluny, to inform him that the Irish troops under Colonel Cannon had landed at Duart on the 12th, and that Cannon had written announcing the arrival of

"a great number of officers, with a considerable body of men, ammunition and arms,—the particulars he refers till meeting, when he is to deliver me His Majesty's letters. . . .

"He tells me . . . Derry is certainly taken, and the French fleet is at sea, and the first news we hear will be the King's landing in the West. . . . With the assistance of Almighty God we will now in a very short time see our Gracious King restored to the throne of his ancestors. Wherefore 'tis high time for you to draw to arms, which I desire you to do with all your men and followers, and I

¹ "A Proclamation against the Viscount of Dundee and other Rebels now in arms. At Edinburgh, the eighteenth day of July. . . . By order of His Majesty's Privy Council. Anno Dom. 1689." (Given *in extenso* by Napier, vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 702-703.)

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shall give you notice where to join us. I am, Sir, your
humble servant DUNDEE."

Then follows one of his peremptory postscripts :

"SIR,—This I write to you to be communicate[d] to all the gentry of Badenoch ; so call them together, for from the head to the foot I will spare none that joins not. The gentry must march first themselves, and I expect 400 men, and no expenses will be allowed. Mackintosh, Grants, and all must come out."

Four days later, Thursday, July the 18th, he wrote again to Cluny :

"I need not say much, because the bearer can tell you all the news. There is a regiment come from Ireland, and 74 officers, besides 35 barrel[s] of powder, ball, match, and flints, with several other provisions with two ships they have left to us. I have a letter all written with the King's own hand assuring me of more assistance immediately, and he is just ready to land."

He goes on to say that the French fleet has beaten the Dutch, that 15,000 men are on board the French ships, and 30,000 camped at Dunkirk waiting only until the King "has use for them"; and that the English and Scottish Parliaments are both torn with internal dissensions.¹

"Duke Gordon is treacherously imprisoned after all, and many other nobles ; such oppressions were never heard of and must be shaken off. All mankind, almost, now begs our assistance. . . . All behind you are here save Macleod who is coming. E[arl] Seaforth is to land in his own country, and has undertaken to raise three regiments. I design to march on Saturday or Monday. I would not have delayed so long had it not been that the Irish forces could not conveniently cross from Mull because of the great winds.

¹ Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle, No II., pp. 23, 24.

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"I expect you will have all your country in arms on Monday, and I shall send you word where to join us. Nobody offers to sit my summons, so I expect that you will not."

A postscript commands Cluny to communicate the contents of the letter to the rest of the gentry, and to send his own answer in writing "and that signed, or I will not notice it."

Then follows another brief and urgent note (undated).

"SIR,—I send you here a proclamation and a copy of the King's instructions. You will see thereby how you ought to walk. The French fleet is now come betwixt Scotland and Ireland. We expect the King's landing or troops from him every day. I expect to hear from you what M[ajor] G[eneral] Mackay is like to do. I can be twice as strong as ever when I please. . . . I am, Sir, your most humble servant
"DUNDEE."

About the end of June, or early in July, Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquess of Atholl, had come up to the Highlands to raise a body of the Atholl clansmen; Mackay had demanded of him that he should at least keep them from joining Dundee, which, as events proved, was a less easy task than it might at first have appeared.

Dundee, on hearing of this, evidently thought it wisest to affect belief in Murray's loyalty, and to take for granted that he intended the Atholl men to form part of King James's army. His letter on this theme is a long one, and is worth reading attentively, as it further exemplifies the manner in which he fought the King's battles on paper as well as in action.

"STRONE, *July 19, 1689.*

"MY LORD,—I was very glad to hear that you had appointed a rendez-vous of the Atholl men at Blair. Knowing, as I do from your lordship's own mouth, your principles, and considering your education¹ and the loyalty of your people, I am persuaded your appearance is in obedience to his Majesty's commands by

¹ Murray's mother was a daughter of that celebrated Cavalier hero the seventh Earl of Derby.

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the letter I sent you; which is the reason why I give you the trouble of this line, desiring that we may meet, and concert what is fittest to be done for the good of our country and service of our lawful King.

"I doubt not your lordship knows that it hath pleased his Majesty to give me the command of his forces in this nation till his arrival; and he is forced to put in my hands many other trusts, for want of other persons; many of his loyal servants being imprisoned, or fled, or out of the way, so as he cannot know their inclinations. Your lordship is happy that is at liberty, and on the head of so considerable a body of loyal men. By declaring openly for the liberty of your country, and the lawful right of your undoubted Sovereign, you may acquire to yourself and family great honours and rewards; and the everlasting blessing of Almighty God, which is above all.

"You are wiser than to think, though you were of other principles, that the Atholl men can be, contrary to their inclination, ever induced to fight against their King; no more than Duke Hamilton,¹ were he never so loyal, could think to make his Streven² and Lesmahago men be for the King, notwithstanding all the power and interest he has in that country.

"I see nothing [that] can hinder or scare any person from serving the King on this occasion, unless it be that they think that the people has a right to dethrone the King and set up another, which I am sure a man of your sense can never be so far fooled as to believe.

"To satisfy the people as to their consciences, has he not given his royal promise, in his Declaration, that he will secure the Protestant religion as by law established, and put them in possession of all their privileges they have at any time enjoyed since the Restoration of King Charles II.—which should satisfy the Episcopal and Cavalier party. He promises to all other Dissenters liberty of conscience, which ought to please the Presbyterians. And, in general, he says he will secure our religion in Parliament, to the satisfaction of his people. This he has, in reiterated letters under his hand and seal, assured me of, and given me warrant in his name to signify so much to all his loving subjects. The Earl of Melfort has written to me, fully signifying *his* real intentions to that purpose; which may be you will have more to do to believe. But, I will assure you, it is true. His Majesty, in his Declaration, and letters to me as to our liberties and properties, says no less. I am persuaded everything will be done to the content of all reasonable men in the next Parliament, which will be so soon as the King in safety can hold it. Much of this was offered by Brady's letter, but kept up by those who desired not that the people should be satisfied, but were resolved to dethrone their King at any rate. I pray God forgive them.³

¹ The Duke of Hamilton was Lord Murray's father-in-law.

² Strathaven.

³ On April 17, 1689, the Duke of Hamilton wrote to William III. after having intercepted the packet of letters which had been entrusted to Brady. The letters were from King James and Lord Melfort to Lords Dundee, Balcarres and Perth. The most important of these was a letter to Dundee from King James dated from Dublin Castle, March 29, 1689, saying that he is in a position not only to defend Ireland but to provide supplies for Dundee, to whom he sends the promised Commission as Lieutenant-General, and to whom he intends to send 5000 men, "whereof 100 Horse and 150

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"My lord, if there be anything more that you think needful the King should grant to satisfy his people, I beg you may let me know of it. For he wants advice and information, as yet, of things and tempers of men here. The Indemnity the King promises by his proclamation seems very gracious, and of great extent. Nobody is excepted, except such as are come from Holland, who are supposed to be chiefly concerned in this usurpation, and those who voted to dethrone the King and get up some other in his place. For my own part, knowing the prosperous condition the King's affairs were in, I would wonder he is so condescending, considering the great provocations he has got,—but that he cannot alter the clement temper that has ever been found in the family, and has eminently appeared in his person.

"Though I have no warrant to say anything further that he will do in that way in particular, yet, in the general, I am desired to get advice to him from his friends here—to whom the circumstances of persons are better known than to them who are beyond sea—how to draw an Indemnity such as may be exact, and satisfying to all honest men as to the exceptions.¹ This is not [yet] done for want of the opinion of your lordship and others of your quality and capacity. I now desire it of you in the King's name, and assure you that your proposals, either in the general for the good of the nation, or in favour of any particular person, shall be seconded by me with all the little interest I have. For, knowing you so well, I need not fear you will offer anything unreasonable.

"Now is the time these things ought to be treated. For, if once the King enter on the head of a royal and already victorious army, and insurrections appear on all hands, and invasions on every side, there will be no more place for treating, but for fighting.

"I know there are many persons of quality, and particularly my Lord Marquess of Atholl, who is apprehensive of my Lord Melfort's ministry; and for their satisfaction on that point—though he has solemnly declared he will never remember past quarrels, but enter on a new score, and live well with all the world—I have represented to him how much he has the misfortune to be disliked; and, for that reason, what hurt his being at the helm may do to the King's affairs. He assures me the King will not part with him; but, however, he is resolved to leave him against his will, if he sees that his presence is in any way prejudicial; and that with joy, he says in good earnest, he would resign his office of Secretary for Scotland to any honest man; and bids me give him advice. This by three different letters; and I know that all I have written to

Dragoons, believing that a greater number of Horse and Dragoons will be inconvenient to ship over to you." He means to come himself, but in the meantime he has written to the Chiefs of the clans and the leading nobles to bid them arm. "Assure yourselves we will stand by you, and if it shall please God to give success to our just cause, we will let the ancient Cavalier party know that we are the only true basis that monarchy can rest upon in Scotland. . . . Only we think fit to add that as it was ever our intention to maintain the Protestant religion, so now we will confirm it to our subjects, and their property and liberty, which let them fancy to themselves what they will can never be assured to them by other means." (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 11, App. VI., p. 178.)

¹ The chief exceptions to James's Indemnity were the Earl of Leven, Lord Melville, Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, Mackay of Scourie, Lieutenant-General James Douglas, Dr Gilbert Burnet, and Titus Oates.

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him on that head was seen by the King himself. I am sure it will be brought about.

"I know these things some months ago would have satisfied all that is good for anything in this nation. My Lord, consider if it be better to hearken to these things in time, which is all we can ask, than let the King enter the conquest, which in all human probability he will assuredly do.

"As I write now to your Lordship, so I have done to all others I can reach with letters. I am sure, whatever evil befall the country, the King is innocent, and I have done my duty.

"I need tell you no news. You know all better than I do who dwell in deserts. Yet I can tell you that the French fleet consists of eighty capital ships, and is at sea with ten fireships and four hundred tenders; that the Dutch, who designed against them, are beat back with loss; that the English dare not appear; that the French have 15,000 of the old troops aboard, to land in Ireland or Britain; that there are 3000 more camped at Dunkirk waiting for our King's service; that the King is now master of all Ireland, and has an army of 6000 men in good order ready to transport; that Schomberg knows not where to go for defence of England, and is not thinking of Ireland, for all that has been said.

"In a letter all written in the King's own hand I know we are to be immediately relieved.

"The Parliaments of England and Scotland are by the ears, and both nations in a flame. Use the time.

"I am, my Lord, your most humble servant,

"DUNDEE.

"From France we are assured, by good hands, that now is the time that the King's friends will declare openly, and their fleet is out."¹

Lord Murray sent this letter to the new Secretary, Lord Melville, and returned no reply to Dundee, who, in consequence, ordered Steuart of Ballechin to hold Blair Castle in the King's name²—if necessary even against Lord Murray himself, to whom he wrote another letter which was also ignored.

On Saturday, July the 20th—exactly a week before the battle of Killiecrankie—Dundee again wrote Cluny a pressing letter, bidding him sit no longer on the fence but bestir himself before it was too late :

"It is now no more time to look on when all your neigh-

¹ "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 222-224, and "Letters," Bann. Club, pp. 73-78.

² Shortly afterwards (July 21) Claverhouse gave Ballechin a commission as Colonel of the Atholl men. "John Viscount of Dundee, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's forces in the Kingdom of Scotland. . . . We by virtue of His Majesty's authority, taking to consideration your constant loyalty and tried courage and conduct, etc., etc." (Bann. Club "Letters," pp. 78, 79, note.)

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bours are engaged. I assure you it will prove your utter ruin if you do ; so you will do well to draw to arms, or be looked on as rebels. If you sit this summons, you shall not often be troubled with more letters from me ; so I desire a positive answer, and I require you to call the country and intimate this to them. . . . Derry is certainly taken by storm last week. Schomberg has refused to head the P[rince] of Orange[']s army for fear of losing his honour with new troops that will run for it.

“ I expect the landing every minute. I am, Sir, your humble servant

“ DUNDEE.

“ That Mackintosh is a lying rogue. The D[uke] of Gordon gave him no commission to forbid you to rise. . . .”¹

On Monday, July the 22nd, Dundee, on the point of setting out from his camp at Strone, wrote yet another urgent letter to the dilatory Chief of the Macphersons :

“ SIR,—Our people coming from this country, which doth not abound in provisions, will want meat when they come into Badenoch. I am unwilling that they should go loose in your country (to seek provisions as they did last) for fear of ruining it ; wherefore I send you this advertisement that you may cause provisions come in against to-morrow’s night near to the place of Cluny, for fifteen hundred men for two days. The rest of our men are provided.

“ If you fail in this, let the blame of all disorders that shall be committed be upon you. Those who bring in the provisions shall be fully satisfied for them.² I expect that the country will be ready in arms to join us, seeing Mar and Atholl are immediately to do it, and I may say almost all benorth Tay and a good part besouth, so now is the time, if

¹ Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle, No. II., pp. 24-25.

² This refers to payment. Balcarres says that Dundee, though not profuse in personal expenditure, was lavish in distributing his money where the King’s service required ; and Balhaldie (p. 279), alluding to his “ exact economy ” in private life, adds that “ in the King’s service he was liberal and generous to every person but himself ; and freely bestowed his own money in buying provisions to his army.”

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ever, for to show yourselves loyal men. I pray you force me not to do things to you against my inclination. I am, Sir, your assured friend and humble servant,

“ DUNDEE.

“ In answer to yours, you and your friends are to meet me to-morrow night, without fail, at Garva. . . .”¹

On July 7th the King from Dublin Castle had written to his most faithful servant “ John, Lord Viscount of Dundee ” :

“ Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The good and acceptable services you have done to us at this time do confirm in us the good opinion we always had of your worth and loyalty ; for which we at present return you our most hearty and royal thanks, and shall by the assistance of God hereafter make you and your family an instance of our royal bounty and favour to such as serve [us] well.”²

Such were the King's intentions ; but within three weeks of the date of this letter Dundee was destined to be far beyond the reach of royal favour.

¹ Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle, No. II., p. 25.

² “ Letters,” Bann. Club, pp. 67, 68.

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Montrose, having passed rapidly from victory to victory, was, in the full career of success, suddenly abandoned by his followers. . . . Dundee did not live long enough to experience a similar reverse of fortune; but there is every reason to believe that, had his life been prolonged one fortnight, his history would have been the history of Montrose retold.—MACAULAY, History of England.

The victory was complete, but I must own your Majesty's affairs were undone by the irreparable loss of the Viscount of Dundee. . . . Had he survived that day, in all probability he had given such a turn to your affairs that the Prince of Orange could neither have gone nor sent into Ireland, so your Majesty had been entirely master of that kingdom, and in a condition to have landed, with what forces you pleased, in Scotland, which of all things your friends most desired.—COLIN, EARL OF BALCARRES, Memoirs [written for King James II.].

Chapter XI: Victory and Death

July 27, 1689

WHILE newsvendors at a safe distance from the Highlands were scoffing at the “unsuccessful” “treasonable” campaign, and circulating lying rumours as to the “low and wretched” state of health to which Dundee had been reduced, he was inspiring his followers and gathering up his forces for the crucial struggle. He had arranged for a great gathering of the clans to take place on July the 29th at Blair; and to this gathering were to throng the sons and grandsons of Montrose’s Highlanders. Moreover, supplementary to the Highland host, and to the Irish regiment of Colonel Cannon, Dundee expected further reinforcements from the King, who had promised him 5000 men or more, and liberal supplies of arms and ammunition. With these, and six, or ultimately even seven, thousand Highlanders, Dundee anticipated having under his command an army twelve or thirteen thousand strong. Then a vigorous bold stroke, resulting in a sharp decisive victory, would, he believed, give courage to the timid, bring the waverers back to their allegiance, and encourage the entire country to declare in favour of King James.

The Jacobites relied on Claverhouse not only to establish once again the King’s authority in Scotland, but even to “put his Majesty in a fair way of regaining England itself,”¹ and this was the colossal task to which he bent his every energy.

¹ “Memoirs of James II.,” ed. Clarke, vol. ii., pp. 352-353.

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The victory he proposed to gain with his 12,000 men was only to be the first act in the great campaign, to which preceding skirmishings and raids and counter-marchings formed the prologue.

Meanwhile Lord Murray, who not unnaturally had been exasperated at being refused entrance to his castle, and that too by one of his own vassals, was feeling his position the more mortifying inasmuch as Mackay held him responsible and wrote him a thunderous letter swearing to take the castle, and hang Steuart of Ballechin over the highest wall.¹ Moreover, said King William's General, if Lord Murray countenanced Ballechin, or condoned the shocking conduct of the Atholl men, the castle should be burnt from end to end.²

Full of these war-like resolutions Mackay set out in good hope of at last achieving long-delayed success; but Lord Dundee, then as always well served by his scouts, had promptly learnt his enemy's intentions and determined to frustrate them. If Mackay marched north in any haste he would most probably arrive at Blair before the 29th, the date appointed for the gathering of the clans. Therefore no time was to be lost, and so Dundee pressed on immediately, with 1800 or 2000 Highlanders, sending swift messengers to carry to his other allies tidings of Mackay's advance, and orders that they must bestir themselves and hasten to the rendezvous as rapidly as possible.³

Then, at the eleventh hour, on Tuesday, July the 23rd, King James's General made yet another effort to beguile Lord Murray :

"Though there be nobody in the nation so much in my debt as your Lordship, [I] having written twice to you with-

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. 12th Rep., Appendix VIII., p. 39.

² *Ibid.* p. 40.

³ The precise numbers of Dundee's force at Killiecrankie are uncertain. Martine of Clermont refers to them as half the number of Mackay's. Lord Murray rates them at 2000. (Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 12, App. VIII., p. 41.) Balhaldie says under 2000; the 1714 "Memoir" says 1800 Foot and 45 Horse. Captain Crichton rates the Foot at 1700. ("Memoirs," ed. 1827, p. 69.) The defeated army, in effort to excuse the panic which had seized the regular forces, subsequently exaggerated Dundee's numbers to 6000, which was in fact the approximate number of his army when his reinforcements arrived after the battle was over.

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out any return, yet being concerned that you should have [no] ground of offence that might in the least alienate your inclinations from the King's service, or discourage you from joining with us his faithful servants, I have thought fit to venture this line more to you, to let you know that it was no distrust of your Lordship made me take possession of the Castle of Blair, but that I heard the rebels designed to require you to deliver it up to them, which would have forced you to declare before the time I thought you designed."

It was, he protests, in order to relieve Lord Murray from a most embarrassing dilemma that he had insisted on Ballechin holding the castle. "If, after all I have said in my former letters and this, I get no return, my Lord, I must acknowledge I shall be very sorry—for your sake."¹

Murray vouchsafed no reply, but gathered the Atholl men together; and on the 25th Dundee wrote once again and sent the letter by his cousin, Major William Graham of Balquhapple, and young Gilbert Ramsay. As a rebuke to Murray for leaving all his previous letters without answer he says: "There is none of the nation has used me so; and I have tried all that have not already joined Major-General Mackay, on this side Tay, who have any command of men."

Yet even now he gives Lord Murray one more chance: "... I have sent these gentlemen to wait on your Lo[rdship] and receive your positive answer; for you know, my Lord, what it is to be in arms without the King's authority." If Murray will come forward he may "have the honour of the whole turn of the King's affairs," for turn they will "in all human probability."²

Evidently his lordship thought otherwise, for he refused even to see Dundee's envoys.

The Atholl men, however, were—as Lord Balcarres told the King—of quite "another temper." Their suspicions being roused by this refusal to receive Dundee's two

¹ "Letters of Claverhouse," Bannatyne Club, pp. 79-80. "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 224-225.

² *Ibid.* "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 225.

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messengers, they all "with one voice" desired to know Lord Murray's intentions. If he would join Dundee, they said they willingly would follow; but otherwise they would "immediately forsake him."

Murray, reasonably outraged by the independent spirit of his unruly vassals, strove to "reduce them by threatenings"; but all in vain. "Seeing plainly his intention," relates Balcarres to the King, they filled their bonnets with water, and drank your Majesty's health, and left him."¹

Thus Dundee was proved to have been right in his assertion that not even the authority of their respected Chief would be supreme enough to force the men of Atholl to take arms against King James.²

While Dundee was marching through Badenoch towards Atholl, he was overtaken by the promised Irish regiment; a mere 300 men, newly raised, undisciplined, and under the command of Colonel Cannon, a Lowland Scottish officer of the conventional type, unused to Highland modes of war.

Balhaldie relates how the Jacobite army was "miserably disappointed" to see the boasted Irish reinforcements dwindled down to such an inconsiderable number. They were "still further discouraged" when they heard that the two shiploads of provisions—butter, beef, and cheese—sent by King James, had all been captured by an English frigate in the Sound of Mull, where, says Balhaldie angrily, the inefficient Colonel Cannon "loitered so long" that the enemy had easily learnt his whereabouts.³

The loss of the supplies was no slight grievance, for Dundee's immediate following had been so badly off for food that, as Balcarres phrases it, "the best gentlemen for many weeks had seen neither bread, salt, [n]or drink—except water."⁴

But discouragement and discontent did not long flourish in the presence of Dundee. "He had gained so upon the

¹ Balcarres, Bann. Club, p. 44.

² See his letter to Lord Murray of July 19, p. 325 *ante*.

³ Balhaldie, p. 257.

⁴ "Memoirs," Bann. Club ed., p. 45.

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affections of his small army," says Balhaldie, that, "though half-starved, they marched forward as cheerfully as if they had not felt the least effects of want."

After a long day's tramp they arrived at Blair on the evening of Friday the 26th, to find Steuart of Ballechin still in undisturbed possession of the castle.

In the morning Mackay had written from Perth to Robert Menzies of Weem, scoffing at the rumours of his adversary's advance; "I do not believe Dundee is so near, though I wish he were."¹ Close on midnight he heard the news that Dundee had actually arrived at Blair, while he had been merely thinking of making his way thither, and had penetrated as far as Dunkeld. He had previously bidden Lord Murray secure the Pass of Killiecrankie, but at Dunkeld he heard from Murray that he doubted if he could get his men to stay there long,² whereupon Mackay decided that Colonel Lauder and 200 Fusiliers should go ahead to "keep the said Pass."³ That same night Dundee wrote his last letter to Cluny, telling him exultantly of Murray's retreat and the expected arrival of all the loyal heritors: "If you have a mind to preserve yourself and save the King, be in arms to-morrow. . . . All the world will be with us, blessed be God."⁴

Early the next morning (Saturday, July the 27th) Mackay set out again from Dunkeld, with over 4000 Foot and two troops of Horse.⁵ Though several of the battalions

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 6, p. 700.

² Lord Murray tells Lord Melville that he retreated on Friday the 26th, on hearing Dundee's force was within sixteen miles of him. Dundee camped three miles from Blair Castle on Friday night, the 26th. ("Leven and Melville Papers," p. 225.)

³ Mackay "Short Relation, as far as I can remember, of what passed, etc., etc." "Memoirs," App., p. 263.

⁴ Gleanings from the Charter Chest of Cluny Castle, No. II., pp. 25-26. On Friday morning (the 26th) Dundee had signed, at Breakachie, a bond for 659 merks in favour of Cluny. (Fraser-Mackintosh, "Letters of Two Centuries," p. 107.) From this we take it that Cluny had at last responded to Dundee's numerous appeals, and had met him at Garva on the 23rd as ordered, presumably promising his assistance. Two hundred of the Macphersons subsequently joined the Jacobite army, but arrived too late for the battle. (Browne's "Highland Clans," vol. ii., p. 176.)

⁵ Mackay's numbers are uncertain, and only an approximate estimate is possible. Writing some time after the event he refers to his 3000 Foot; but the Duke of Hamilton (July 28, 1689) rates the Foot at "about 4000." ("Leven and Melville Papers,"

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were newly raised he had with him sufficient force of seasoned men, including his famous Scoto-Dutch Brigade, to give him reasonable hope of a successful issue.

While he was nearing Killiecrankie with his army, followed by a train of baggage and provisions—"all the comforts of the Salt Market"—his adversary held a Council of War, if it can be so termed when a commander who is determined on his course of action permits his various subordinates to give advice on which he does not mean to act unless it coincides with his intentions. This council, so vividly described by Drummond of Balhaldie (whose grandfather Lochiel played a conspicuous and honourable part in it), is most instructive and significant. Such of Dundee's following as had served with regular troops maintained that with their diminished force it would be most imprudent to risk meeting a disciplined army of more than twice their number. As their reputation would depend on this their first pitched battle, it would be wise to wait for reinforcements, which would arrive in two days' time at latest. The Highlanders, though hardy and courageous, were spent from want of food, and still exhausted after their long and rapid march. It was suggested therefore by the Lowland officers that as Dundee already had accomplished his object of covering Blair Castle from the threatened siege, "they ought by all means not only to attend the arrival of their men, but also to give them time to recover their strength and spirits by necessary rest; and that in the meantime it were proper to awake and rouse up their courage by some brisk attacks and light skirmishes, wherein [our author adds] especial care ought to be taken that they should always have the advantage."¹

p. 203.) Rating the three Scoto-Dutch regiments at 800 each (instead of 1100, which was their full strength), deducting from Hastings's 950 Foot 100 men in garrison at Inverness, and deducting 200 also in garrison from Leven's regiment of 900, counting Kenmuir's regiment at 766 (Lady Tullibardine, "*Milit. Hist. of Perth.*," p. 258), Lauder's Fusiliers at 200, and adding the 100 of the Menzies who joined Mackay at Ballinluig under Robert Menzies, Younger of Weem ("*Red and White Book of Menzies*," p. 325), this would make 5016 Foot, which is 800 or 900 more than Mackay is believed to have had with him. Lady Tullibardine considers 4300 a reasonable estimate. ("*Milit. Hist. of Perthshire*," p. 258.)

¹ Balhaldie, p. 259. (See also James II.'s "*Memoirs*," ed. Clarke, vol. ii., p. 350.)

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This speech is interesting, displaying as it does the views of the conventional-minded type of soldier, trained abroad, and utterly uncomprehending of the personal characteristics of the Highlanders as fighting men, or the peculiar nature of the war they waged.

That such advice would be contemptuously rejected by the Highland chiefs was a foregone conclusion. Glengarry promptly rose and pointed out to all these Lowland gentlemen that northern clansmen were not so easily worn out by hunger and exposure as a regular force accustomed to an easier mode of life. As nothing more ardently delighted Highlanders than venturous exploits, it was unnecessary to delay on their account; rather waste no more time, but go out and attack the foe at once.

Lochiel remaining silent, Lord Dundee now turned to him, declaring that his experience and achievements entitled him to give the final word.

Lochiel modestly replied that his own exploits in the past had been due rather to the courage of his men than to his personal prowess. The reason he had not offered his opinion was that he had decided to submit to Lord Dundee, who understood so well the Highland spirit that he needed neither counsel nor enlightenment. However, as the General thus honoured him by asking his advice, he gladly gave it; it was that they should fight immediately. The men were in good heart and eager to engage the enemy, whose greater numbers would but serve to give an added glory to the victory.

Such "hardy and resolute" counsel could not fail to please Dundee; "his looks seemed to brighten with an air of delight and satisfaction all the while Lochiel was a-speaking,"¹ and he said that the opinion thus expressed was identical with his own; Lochiel's judgment, founded upon a lifelong knowledge of his fellow-Highlanders and their especial qualities, admitted of no further argument.

"No one in the company offering to contradict their General, it was unanimously agreed to fight"; and "when the news of this vigorous resolution spread through the army,

¹ Balhaldie, p. 264.

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nothing was heard but acclamations of joy, "which exceedingly pleased" the gallant commander.¹

But before the council had dispersed, Lochiel spoke once again. Dundee, he said, in the true interests of the royal cause, ought to refrain from taking part in the ensuing fight. On him depended the entire fortunes of the King and country; if he were killed, no victory could repair the loss; and therefore—in the name of all the council—Lochiel entreated him to issue orders as he should think fit, but trust to others for their execution.

Such solemn warning, from the most intrepid of the many dashing and intrepid Highland chiefs, was bound to carry weight; but there were urgent reasons why Dundee could not accept it. His prestige with the clans depended largely on his bravery, his physical vigour and magnetic power of leadership; if he allowed the question of his personal safety to affect him, the charm would henceforth more or less be broken.

Balhaldie—grandson of Lochiel—laments the "too great eagerness" of Claverhouse in hazarding his life. But this was no mere quixotry, rather it was the outcome of a vivid understanding of the men he led. "If they do not think I have personal courage enough," he said, "they will not esteem me hereafter, nor obey my commands with cheerfulness." He was conscious that his life, in the King's interests, ought to be preserved; and yet he knew he must show clearly to the clansmen that he could as readily face death as any one of them. "I ask nothing from you that I will not do myself," he said soon afterwards, and this, as Lochiel must have known, was the secret of his influence.

Tradition ascribes to the Chief of the Clan Cameron mysterious powers of "second sight"; so who can tell what premonition of impending ruin prompted him to give this counsel, which he scarcely can have hoped would be accepted? That coming events should have cast their shadows before is in keeping with the place and time; and Drummond of Balhaldie tells a curious story about Gilbert Ramsay, who

¹ Balhaldie, p. 264.

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at the outbreak of the war had given up his excellent chances at the Bar in order to join Claverhouse. "I assure you, my Lord," he said to Dunfermline, "that this day we shall have a glorious victory over the King's enemies"; and he related how in the early morning just before he wakened he had dreamt the whole stern drama of the fight; seeing the disposition of the troops, the progress of the action, and even the mortal wounds of those who were to fall. In this grim forecast he had beheld himself among the slain. Dunfermline strove to make him profit by the warning and save his life by staying out of action; but Ramsay—with that devotion Claverhouse had the art of wakening in sympathetic natures—said that so many of King James's friends and servants had deserted him that it was the more incumbent upon loyal spirits to give their lives ungrudgingly. Dunfermline—loyal himself, and brave beyond all question—remonstrated and argued; but Ramsay stood immovable in his resolve, and swore he had no dread of death.¹ There was no one of any note to fall, he added solemnly, whose wounds he had not seen as in a mirror.

Whether he saw Dundee amongst the doomed, and told this to Lochiel, or whether Lochiel himself had been weighed down with some such mystic apprehension, can never now be known; but it seems certain that though the men were in good heart, and confident of victory, Dundee's own intimates—acutely conscious of the value of his life—gave way to some uneasiness. In deference to their wishes he took off the scarlet coat which made him such an easy target for the enemy, and put on one of grey or "sad-colour," but otherwise he would make no concession to their fears.²

To realise the full significance of the ensuing battle, it is desirable to call to memory the tactics and the arms on either side. The force under Mackay was composed of six Infantry regiments:—a composite body of Fusiliers under Colonel Lauder, two troops of Dragoons, and the two troops of

¹ Balhaldie, p. 281.

² Morer, "Short Account of Scotland," 1702, p. 99. Morer was chaplain to Sir John Lanier's regiment (Queen's Dragoons), quartered in Edinburgh at the time of the battle, and shortly afterwards at Stirling.

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Cavalry of Lords Annandale¹ and Belhaven.² Three of the regiments of Foot (Balfour's, Ramsay's and Kenmuir's) had fought in Continental campaigns, but the other three had been raised recently—that of Lord Leven scarcely five months previously.

It must be remembered that the drill and tactics of the regular troops were then extremely slow and cumbrous. Elasticity was entirely sacrificed to precision of movement, and individuality in the rank and file was discarded in favour of machine-like movements at the word of command. Open formations were never practised, and it was a slow and almost impossible operation to alter a formation without deliberate manœuvres which were difficult and generally impracticable in face of an enemy. Therefore troops committed to an engagement in one formation had as a rule to maintain that formation throughout, and for regiments so trained it was impossible to conform to the rapidly changing movements of such an enemy as the lightly clad and active Highlanders.

Mackay's Fusiliers were armed with a long smooth-bore musket which had then been recently fitted with a flintlock. For ammunition, cartridges had been adopted, but were still in a very primitive state of development. It took a man from a minute to a minute and a half to load and fire; and misfires, either from want of care or from failure of ignition, were of frequent occurrence. Only a small proportion of the troops had flintlocks; the greater number were armed with the old-fashioned and still more awkward matchlock muskets,³ the loading of which—first with powder and then with ball—was an extremely slow laborious process. The pike, a formidable weapon which long survived the introduction of firearms, had been withdrawn from use, and in its place there had been issued a short knife shaped like a small pike-

¹ Annandale was not present with his troop.

² Belhaven is acidly described by a contemporary as "a rough, fat, black, noisy man, more like a butcher than a lord." "Loves to make long speeches in Parliament, and hath the vanity to print them." (John Macky, "Characters of the Nobility of Scotland," p. 136.)

³ Mackay to Lord Melville. (Mackay's "Memoirs," App., p. 289.)

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head with a handle of wood about three inches in length. This weapon, called a bayonet, was intended to be inserted into the muzzle of the musket, thus converting that weapon into a sort of clumsy pike ; but to effect this transformation time was needed, and when the bayonet was fixed the musket could no longer be used as a firearm. To meet this obvious difficulty, and largely in consequence of the disastrous result of the battle of Killiecrankie, the bayonet in the British army was shortly afterwards fitted with rings so as to encircle the barrel of the musket, and thus while in use enable the musket to be fired.¹ It was unfortunate for Mackay and his troops that they were caught by their Highland foemen in the period of transition.

The weapons of the clansmen had been from time immemorial the claymore—a straight two-edged sword, in the use of which every Highlander was an adept—the Lochaber axe, and the target, a small round shield covered with cowhide. To these had been added in later days the musket, frequently a flintlock, of much the same description as that issued to the Fusiliers in the regular army.

Against Highlanders so armed, conventionally trained soldiers were at a serious disadvantage. If their adversaries could be held at a distance, if their own ranks could be kept serried, and if the musket fire was slow but steady, all went well ; but if, on the other hand, the Highland enemy had energy and pluck to fire a volley at short range and then make a determined onslaught sword in hand, disaster to the regular troops was almost bound to follow. It was on this fact, so well proved in the previous generation by Montrose, that Lord Dundee relied when he deliberately chose to let Mackay come through the Pass with his entire army.

Secure in the aggressive courage of the Highlanders,

¹ Colonel Walton remarks that "the stoppage of fire involved by the use of the plug-bayonet had not gone unnoticed, . . . the need was universally felt of some bayonet so fixed as to enable the soldier to continue his fire without fixing it. An intermediate step towards the socket-bayonet was the contrivance known as the ring-bayonet," and this Mackay claims to have invented after his unfortunate experience at Killiecrankie. He may have introduced it into the British army, but it was known in France as early as 1678, though its general use in the French army may be of a later date. ("History of the British Standing Army," pp. 344-355.)

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and gauging aright the quality of his opponent's troops, Dundee resolved to strike an overwhelming and decisive blow.

To have fallen on Mackay while he was toiling through the Pass, confined to a steep narrow path and cumbered by a long unwieldy convoy of provisions, would have been an obvious and easy move ; but it would have been to break up the attack into a series of disjointed combats, which, though inevitably checking Mackay and driving him back upon Dunblane, could hardly have proved annihilating in immediate effect or crushing and decisive in moral result.

Trained in the same school of Continental war as General Mackay, Dundee, aware of the weak points of regular forces, had evolved his plans accordingly. He must have reckoned too that in the earlier phase of the campaign his lightning stroke upon Dunblane and Perth and hot pursuit of his opponent's army through the Valley of the Spey, had gone far to destroy what confidence the soldiers may at first have had in their commander's power of leadership. Both morally and physically, the odds were heavily against Mackay in spite of his superior numbers. This was however not at first glance evident to Claverhouse's officers, several of whom were keen to swoop down on Mackay and check him at the very entrance to the Pass. But a decisive victory was at hand by a much bolder stroke, a stroke worthy of its originator and proof of his unerring estimate both of the fighting qualities of his own men and of his adversaries.

Towards noon Mackay reached the entrance to the Pass, after a fourteen-mile march up from Dunkeld. His frame of mind, as indicated by his letter to Menzies of Weem, was fairly confident ; he made the not unusual mistake of under-rating his opponent. Whether his army was in equally good spirits may be more than doubted, for the aspect of the country was sufficiently discouraging to troops which had already felt the drawbacks of attacking mountaineers in their own savage regions.

To our present generation, accustomed to go whirling through the Pass of Killiecrankie in the train, this horror of

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the Highlands seems ridiculous. Moreover we have acquired an æsthetic liking for wild scenery, especially when we can look upon it, as is now the case, without imperilling our comfort. But in 1689 the Highlands, to the average Lowland Scot or Englishman, appeared barbaric and mysterious to a degree not easy now to realise. The present roads did not exist, and in addition to the physical difficulties of an invading force, there was a mental shrinking and uneasiness such as in later generations used to seize our men in North America when forced to plunge into those trackless forests and unknown regions where the terrible Red Indians skulked and waited for their prey.

At the outer end of the Pass, Mackay halted his main body, and sent on 200 of Lord Leven's regiment (now King's Own Scottish Borderers) to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder who, with some couple of hundred Fusiliers, all picked men, had previously advanced to guard the Pass at the western end.

After waiting about two hours, Mackay, on learning there was no sign of the enemy, began his march. Entering the chasm of the Pass, he found the Garry in flood, rushing down in a succession of fierce cataracts. The road, a mere foot-track, was almost parallel with the river and uncomfortably close on its precipitous edge. So narrow was this path that not more than three men could walk abreast. By such a way Mackay's ill-fated army plodded on, beneath a wall of towering crags clothed with oak, birch and pine. Balfour's, Ramsay's and Kenmuir's regiments led the way, and were followed by Lord Belhaven's Horse and Mackay's own regiment. Next came the baggage and supplies, a convoy of 1200 horses; then the second troop of Horse and Colonel Ferdinando Hastings's Foot brought up the rear.

Their progress was slow; and though Mackay "apprehended not the enemy" he nevertheless must have felt some relief when he emerged at last in "a field of corn along the side of the river."¹ There he called a halt; and—while the horse convoy of supplies was still toiling through the Pass—

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," p. 50.

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he sent the Fusiliers on in front with Colonel Lauder and Belhaven's troop of Horse. Looking up the strath in the direction of Blair Castle they saw Dundee's advance-guard, "marching slowly along the foot of a hill," about a mile away. On learning this, Mackay—having bidden Balfour (his Brigadier and Second-in-Command) serve out the ammunition and order the men to stand to arms—rode forward to reconnoitre, and joined Colonel Lauder who had taken up his stand upon the rising ground north-east of what is now the village of Aldclune.

These heights commanded the way by which the enemy was seemingly advancing, and so Mackay sent word to Balfour to "march up to him in all haste with the Foot." No sooner had the order been despatched than a body of Highlanders appeared, not quite a quarter of a mile away, coming down a "high hill" to the right. This was Dundee's main force. Mackay, realising immediately that his flank was turned, and fearing that the enemy would seize the heights of Raon Ruariedh¹—whence they could sweep his baggage and main body backwards into the foaming Garry—galloped in haste back to the cornfield where his troops had halted. Then, as he relates, "having made every battalion form by a *Quart de Conversion* to the right, upon the ground they stood," he "made them march each before his face up the hill." But on reaching the level space at the top of the incline he found that it in turn led to yet another hill, which merged into the towering heights of Creag Eallaich.²

¹ Site of the present Urrard House.

² Mackay ("Short Relation") describes the ground as "a steep brae, above which there was a plain capable to contain more troops than I had; and above that plain the matter of a musket-shot, a rising of a hill, above which and betwixt it and a great hill at his back Dundee had place enough to range his men." There has been much argument as to the site of the battle. I have adopted that which—after a visit to the scenes in question—appeared to me to tally with General Mackay's description. My reading of Mackay is borne out by Lady Tullibardine, whose "Military History of Perthshire" (pp. 268-270) includes a careful and exhaustive examination of the evidence which seems to leave little room for doubt that the battle was fought on the Urrard plateau, and not (as Professor Terry maintains) on the slope between Lettoch and Aldclune. Moreover—as Lady Tullibardine points out—in Stobie's map of Perthshire published in 1783 (when men would still be alive whose fathers had fought at Killiecrankie) the Urrard plateau is marked as the site of the battle.

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Meanwhile Dundee—who (it will be remembered) sent a small part of his force by the main road from Blair to fool Mackay into believing his entire army would be coming thence—had marched his main force up the left bank of the Fender, and passing behind the hill of Lude (where six and forty years ago Montrose had raised the Royal Standard for King Charles) he made his way down the Clune Burn, and led his Highlanders on to the ridge which bounds the Valley of the Garry on the northern side. Having crossed the Clune above the narrow defile into which it falls below Clunemore, he continued his march towards the lower slopes of Creag Eallaich; and when his adversary gained the level space above the slopes of Raon Ruariedh the hillside then became alive with plaided Highlanders, all thirsting to dash down and fall upon the hapless regulars.

For reasons shortly to be shown, Dundee was not yet ready to attack; and so the early hours of afternoon were spent by the respective Generals in marshalling their lines.

Mackay made the most advantageous disposition that the ground allowed, and he very probably hoped that by sheer weight of numbers he might prevail against the odds of circumstances and position. He posted Colonel Lauder on his left, “on a little hill wreathed with trees.” Then he placed Balfour’s, Ramsay’s and Kenmuir’s three regiments. Lord Leven’s men were on the right; and then the General’s own regiment and that of Colonel Ferdinando Hastings—the latter reinforced with a detachment of firelocks, picked from each battalion in the army. The force was drawn up in line three deep, the usual formation, leaving an open space in the centre to permit the egress of the two troops of Horse under Lord Belhaven. These troops Mackay placed behind the Foot, “not daring to expose them” to the enemy’s redoubted Cavalry. True, Dundee’s Horse numbered half or less than half his own; but they were “composed all of gentlemen,”¹ and, in the previous raid on Perth at the beginning of the war, had amply proved their vigour, dash and spirit.

¹ Mackay, “Memoirs,” p. 52.

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Watching this disposition of the troops, and seeing Mackay's long lines stretched out in front of him, Dundee changed the arrangement of his Highland clansmen, posting them now in groups with intervals between, so as to draw out his own line and not be "too much out-winged," by the far greater numbers of his adversary.¹ On the right Sir John Maclean of Duart at the head of his men, then the 300 Irish under Colonel James Purcell,² and the men of Clanranald under the Tutor of Clanranald, Donald Macdonald of Benbecula; then the Macdonells of Glengarry under "Black Alastair," the acting chief of the clan. Next a handful of Macdonalds of Glencoe and Grants of Glenmoriston. The left wing was composed of Camerons under Lochiel, and Macdonalds of the Isles under Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat and Sir George Berkeley; while Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter commanded another contingent of Macleans, supplemented by Macdonalds of Kintyre under young Macdonald of Largo. And in the centre was the diminished troop of Cavalry, consisting of "Low-country gentlemen," and remnants of Claverhouse's disbanded regiment, "not above forty in all,"³ commanded by Lord Melfort's brother-in-law, Sir William Wallace of Craigie, former captain of one of the troops in the Royal Regiment of Horse. Wallace, who had joined Dundee with Colonel Cannon and the Irish, had produced, the very morning of the battle, a commission from King James to supersede Dunfermline. Lord Dunfermline, too loyal to show the irritation that he felt, "calmly resigned"; but it was characteristic of the King that this most zealous officer, who had so nobly borne the heat and burden of the day, should at the eleventh hour have been put aside to make way for a mediocre man who chanced to be the brother-in-law of James's favourite, Melfort. Lord Melfort, as we have seen, was James's evil genius, in succession to Lord Sunderland, Judge Jeffreys and the Jesuit Father Petre; a

¹ Balhaldie, p. 265.

² Balhaldie calls him "Pearson," but there is reason to believe he was the Colonel Purcell who subsequently fought again in Scotland under General Buchan.

³ Balhaldie, p. 266.

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lamentable galaxy, well qualified to wreck the strongest ship of state entrusted to their care.

While Lord Dundee was forming his order of battle, Mackay in hope to tempt his adversary down on to the level ground began to play him with the field-pieces which had been destined for the siege of Blair. There were only four of these, and—considering the imperfection of artillery at this comparatively early stage of evolution—the chances are the cannon made more noise and smoke than actual havoc; but they were supplemented by continuous firing from the entire army, so that the Highlanders grew mightily impatient to break loose. But, straining in the leash and longing to attack, they nevertheless submitted trustingly to Claverhouse's will, while he flashed up and down the lines, and by his voice, his presence and his wonderful magnetic power, excited them to frenzy, and yet held them rigidly in check, until the moment came for their unleashing. He told them they had come to fight in the most noble of all causes—for their King, their country and religion against usurpation and rebellion. Having so good a cause, he did not doubt that they would be inspired with the vigour to maintain it, thus by their bravery redeeming Scotland's credit, which had been laid low of late by treachery and cowardice amongst their countrymen. He asked nothing more from them than he would do himself. Those who fell would have the honour of dying in their duty, while such as lived to win the battle should have "the reward of a gracious King, and the praise of all good men." "Let this be your word, King James and the Church of Scotland, whom God long preserve."¹

Mackay also harangued his troops, but in a very different vein. His speech (recorded by himself) can scarcely have been other than depressing; for though he adjured his soldiers to fight manfully, and strike hard for the Protestant religion, he very superfluously pointed out to them that their own safety was involved in the forthcoming struggle. He besought them not to allow "a criminal faintheartedness" to

¹ Constable-Maxwell MSS. and Nairne Papers. For opinions as to the authenticity of this speech, see Appendix VII., p. 401 *supra*.

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overcome them ; if they stood firm there was good hope of victory, but if they gave way before the Highland "rabble" it was improbable they would escape alive.¹ This was unquestionably true, but not inspiring. With the Garry in flood behind and below, a dangerous long and narrow pass the only road to follow in retreat, and Dundee and the Highlanders on the hillside in front, the position of King William's troops was far from enviable. Whereas Dundee, if he so pleased, could easily make a quick retreat over the hills and thus defy all possibility of a pursuit, Mackay knew that for him retreat meant ruin ; and for the present there was nothing he could do except continue firing in hope to goad the Highlanders into descending from their point of vantage. Several of the clansmen fell, and many were wounded ; but the sun was shining in their eyes, and, longing as they were for action, Claverhouse still held them back. That he was able thus to keep them waiting hour after hour while the sun declined says much for his controlling strength of will.

To keep up the good temper of the men Lochiel bade the Camerons raise "a great shout," which was repeated heartily by the entire force, the clansmen cheering with such zest and vigour that the answering shout from the opposing ranks seemed a faint echo rather than a brisk defiance.

"Courage," said Lochiel, "the day is ours. Those men are doomed to fall beneath our swords this very night."²

The singling out of special regiments in the opposing army for each band of Highlanders to fall upon when once the signal should be given, further increased the savage fervour and the love of warlike enterprise so characteristic of their race. Dundee knew that the longer the interval of waiting the more certain the result, and the more deadly the pursuit ; darkness would confuse the flying enemy, whereas the nimble Highlanders—now growing every moment more

¹ Mackay's "Memoirs," pp. 53, 54.

² Compressed from Balhaldie, p. 267. Lochiel had only 240 Camerons with him, and of these 60 had formed Dundee's advance-guard and were not engaged in the battle, having been sent "to take possession of a house from which he justly apprehended the enemy might gall them" if they could get possession of it. (Balhaldie, p. 266.)

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and more eager for the contest—would be in their element when chasing a retreating foe. That the foe would speedily retreat he seems to have been confident; and obviously he calculated that a sharp decisive victory would place Scotland practically at his mercy. Knowing him through his correspondence up to the very eve of Killiecrankie, we can divine, though dimly, something of the glowing hopes and high ambitions which at this crucial time were animating him. At last the opportunity had come for emulation of Montrose's greatest exploits. But whereas Montrose's victories had in the end proved of small service to the King, Dundee, more fortunate in being gifted with astuteness equal to his military genius, had every reason to believe in his own power, no less as a diplomat than as a general, to bring about the much-desired Restoration. Proud forecasts of approaching triumph must have thronged fast upon him as he watched the shadows deepen on the mountains and waited eagerly until the sun sank and the vital moment came when he could give the signal for the clans to charge.

At last the sun set, and at the bidding of their leader the fierce Highlanders, aflame with the wild joy of conflict, swooped down on the waiting enemy. They had been ordered to reserve their fire until they came up to the "very bosoms" of Mackay's unlucky soldiers. Pouring it forth then "all at once, like one great clap of thunder,"¹ they hurled away their muskets, and with heavy claymores fell upon the foe in perfect ecstasy of battle madness—most notably Glengarry, who by means of an especial double stroke dealt death and devastation on both sides.²

With amazing swiftness the wild Highlanders had broken in upon the solid phalanx. The result was instantaneous; for the hapless regulars, with their indifferent pike-heads thrust into the muzzles of their clumsy firelocks, could do little to defend themselves against their dashing and impetuous foes, armed with dirk, target, and the dreaded claymore. Colonel Balfour's regiment, old soldiers of the

¹ Balhaldie, p. 267.

² *Ibid.* p. 268.

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Scoto-Dutch Brigade, fled without further firing. Balfour himself was killed; the Fusiliers gave way, and half of Ramsay's regiment was scattered.¹

Ramsay and Lauder kept their heads, and valiantly essayed to bring the panic-stricken men back to their colours. The General himself strove to bring up the Horse; but then Dundee with his small force of Cavalry charged promptly on Mackay's own regiment, and "in a very short time all did run."²

The pursuit was rigorous and hotly pressed, and Annandale's and Belhaven's affrighted horsemen fled helter-skelter almost without firing another shot. The Foot—or such at least as had survived the savage Highland onslaught—retreated in the utmost terror and confusion. Chased by the long-legged and swift-footed Highlanders, 500 soldiers of Mackay's defeated force surrendered to their conquerors, to be led back in triumph to Blair Castle.

The chase was kept up until after daybreak, neither the hunters nor the quarry having seen how Lord Dundee, just at the very moment of his greatest triumph, had been smitten by a random shot and wounded fatally. As he had led his Cavaliers towards the enemy's cannon in the centre, it happened that Sir William Wallace—for some reason which remains a mystery to this day—had taken on himself to wheel the Horse round to the left, which threw them at once into confusion. Whereupon Dunfermline, who having been deprived of his commission was riding only as a volunteer, spurred forward to the aid of Lord Dundee, and, with some "sixteen other gentlemen" who followed him, ignoring Wallace, captured the cannon easily and dispersed the remnant of Belhaven's Horse before the dilatory Wallace could have time to come up and redeem his blunder.³

¹ Mackay, "Short Relation," etc. ("Memoirs," App., p. 265.)

² Mackay, "Short Relation." Writing to Hamilton from Stirling, two days later, he says: "There was no regiment or troop with me but behaved like the vilest cowards in nature, except Hastings' and my Lord Leven's." (Mackay's "Memoirs," App., p. 255.)

³ Gilbert Ramsay, who had dreamt of his own death, was one of these sixteen horsemen. His dream came true, for he was shot dead in the charge. (Balhaldie, p. 281.)

BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE 1689.

Map B.

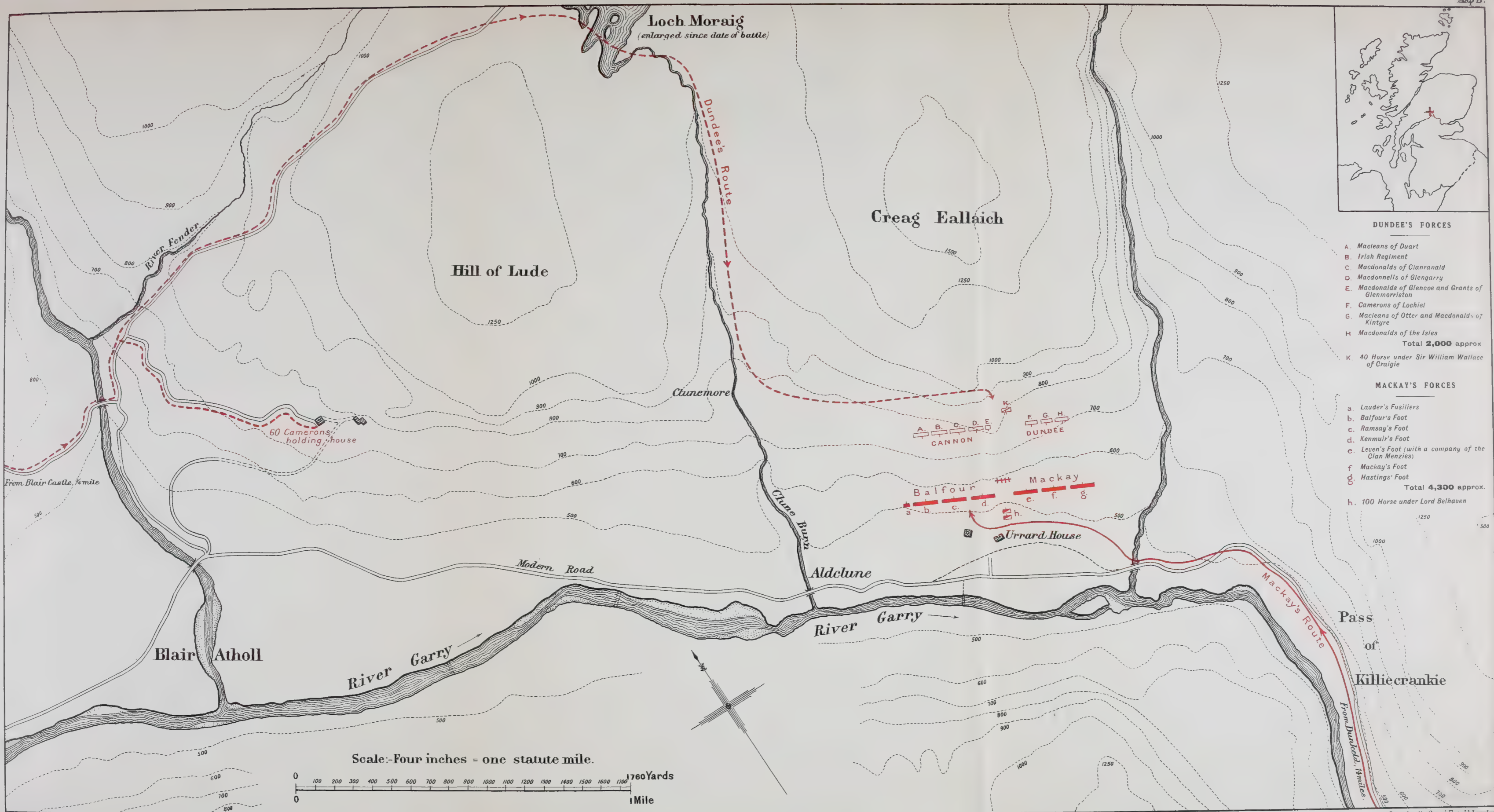


DUNDEE'S FORCES

- A. Macleans of Duart
- B. Irish Regiment
- C. Macdonalds of Clanranald
- D. Macdonnells of Glengarry
- E. Macdonalds of Glencoe and Grants of Glenmorriston
- F. Camerons of Lochiel
- G. Macleans of Otter and Macdonalds of Kintyre
- H. Macdonalds of the Isles
- Total **2,000** approx
- K. 40 Horse under Sir William Wallace of Craigie

MACKAY'S FORCES

- a. Lauder's Fusiliers
- b. Balfour's Foot
- c. Ramsay's Foot
- d. Kenmuir's Foot
- e. Leven's Foot (with a company of the Clan Menzies)
- f. Mackay's Foot
- g. Hastings' Foot
- Total **4,300** approx.
- h. 100 Horse under Lord Belhaven



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Dundee meanwhile had ridden straight towards the enemy's guns, not seeing that he was not followed by Sir William Wallace; and it was not until his horse swerved to the right that he observed the unaccountable confusion into which the greater number of his cavalry had fallen. Raising himself in his stirrups, he waved his hat above his head in signal to the laggard horsemen to come on. They charged then, while a cloud of smoke concealed their General; and Lord Dunfermline, satisfied that all was well, swept on to chase the flying foe.

It has been mentioned how Dundee had been so far outnumbered by Mackay that he—for fear of being flanked—had been obliged to stretch his lines and leave large gaps between his groups of Highlanders. It happened thus there was “a large void space” straight opposite the place where Leven's regiment was posted, and so this regiment, for lack of foes to meet, remained almost entire; while Hastings's regiment so far outstretched Dundee's lines on the left “that there was only half of it assaulted and cut off.” Great was the surprise of Lord Dunfermline, when he came back from the chase with Drummond of Balhaldie, to find at least half Colonel Hastings's numbers calmly standing in the very spot they had been posted early in the afternoon. Gathering together some Highlanders, whom he saw straggling on the field among their dead and wounded, Dunfermline strove to scatter Hastings's men; but Leven's regiment marched promptly to the rescue of their comrades, and the Highlanders, quite out of hand and thinking more of plunder than of duty, refused obedience to Dunfermline.¹

It was at this moment that Dunfermline, Pitcur, Drummond of Balhaldie, and some others discovered their victorious leader lying on the ground, to all appearance lifeless.

On examination, his most serious wound proved to be in his left side, in the lower part; from which Dunfermline and Balhaldie assumed he had been hit the moment after he had

¹ Balhaldie, p. 269.

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turned his horse round to the right, as they had seen him last when he was waving to Sir William Wallace to come on. A cloud of smoke had then enveloped him, and his exultant Highlanders had dashed on in continued hot pursuit of the retreating enemy, unknowing of the fatal shot which had deprived them of their General.

“Conqueror, on his return to power he would have restored prosperity to King and people. But Fortune failed his zeal and labour; for on the very point of victory and our redemption—ah! that it was so fated—he fell, his bravery alone destroying him whom fame shall ever keep alive.”¹

At first Dunfermline and his friends believed Dundee had been shot dead; but observing presently “some small remains of life” they gathered round him, meaning to carry him away into a place of safety. Then Leven’s regiment again came forward and subjected them to heavy and continuous fire, killing Dunfermline’s horse, and wounding Pitcur, who, however, “dissembled” his mortal injuries and helped to carry off the body of his General and kinsman.²

What happened afterwards is hidden from us; we have no record of the dying hours of Dundee, and do not know if he was carried then to the Castle of Blair—three miles away—or taken into some house or cottage near at hand.

The night was far advanced; the Highlanders, still chasing the retreating foe, were scattered far and wide. A veil of darkness and oblivion shuts off the last scene of the drama.

Fierce controversy rages still around the question whether Lord Dundee died on the field at once or lived till dawn. For causes elsewhere stated there seems every reason to believe he lingered until daybreak.³ Contemporary

¹ Contemporary Latin epitaph on Lord Dundee by George Martine of Clermont. “Return to power,” *postliminio*, is literally “a return to civil rights and status from exile or outlawry.” This refers to the sentence which had been pronounced against Dundee by Hamilton’s Convention.

² Balhaldie, p. 269.

³ See Appendix VII., p. 404 *supra*.

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allusions to his injuries are various and contradictory, but the gravest of them clearly was the gunshot wound in his left side ; and recent medical opinion, after considering the scanty evidence, makes the suggestion that this wound may not of its own nature have been deadly, but that the blundering surgery of the day in striving to extract the bullet would have brought on peritonitis and thus caused a fatal termination. If this was so, although Dundee would have endured excruciating pain, his mind would have been clear during his last few hours ; and, assuming this to be the case, what more consistent with his known character and habits than the dictating of a farewell letter to that Prince to whom from the beginning of his military career in Scotland he had given such whole-hearted service and allegiance.¹

“SIR,—It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them have fallen under the weight of our swords.

“I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command in it ; but of 5000, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped above 1200 men. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field, and the enemy's baggage which I gave to the soldiers ; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies ; and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion.

“I cannot now, Sir, be more particular ; but take leave to assure your Majesty the kingdom is generally disposed for your service and impatiently waits for your coming ; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry,—having had all their assurances for it,²—except the notorious rebels.

¹ See Appendix VII., p. 405, for my reasons for upholding the authenticity of this letter.

² From himself, he means. See his letters to Lord Strathnaver, Lord Murray, and others. Chap. X. *ante*.

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"Therefore, Sir, for God's sake assist us,—though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before—especially of Horse and Dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary Kingdom of Scotland.

"My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours,
"DUNDEE."¹

It is eminently consistent that Dundee should have expended the last remnant of his ebbing strength in striving to instil into the King something of his own indomitable spirit.

The reticence with regard to himself, the just pride in the achievements of those who had fought under him, the allusions to his diplomatic correspondence with every person of importance whom there had been any hope of gaining, the urgent entreaty for more troops—"especially of Horse and Dragoons"—and the final effort to arouse the King to action, are all supremely characteristic.

We moderns see poor James, the last Stuart King *de facto*, as "the man who lost three kingdoms for a mass," and we are apt to marvel at Dundee's devotion to the broken-spirited and nerveless monarch who, at the bidding of Dutch William, fled so ignominiously to France. But we forget that James in Claverhouse's boyhood had been the hero of the splendid fight near Lowestoft, which lifted him at once into the ranks of famous admirals; we forget that Claverhouse, who in his early twenties first saw war under Turenne, must have been cognisant of that great leader's favourable view of James—"if ever any man was born without fear," he said, "it was the Duke of York," and he had ample opportunity of judging.

¹ Nairne Papers, Carte MSS. vol. 130, fol. 322. (Bodleian Library.) [Macpherson, "Orig. Papers," vol. ii., pp. 372, 373.] Constable-Maxwell MSS. at Everingham Park.

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The breakdown of King James's nerve in middle-age, compared with his unquestionably promising and brilliant youth, is most remarkable ; and Lord Balcarres, who for more than half-a-lifetime knew him intimately, has left on record his opinion that the King's degeneracy in 1688 was due as much to physical as mental causes. Be this as it may, when Claverhouse first made his acquaintance he had been surrounded by a halo of naval and military distinction ; and it is conceivable that even after his flight, and all his lamentable follies and mistakes, those who had known him in his vigour may have cherished the faint hope that something of his former energy and spirit might again assert itself. Whether such hopes supported and deluded Claverhouse in his last hours we cannot know ; but his recent experience of James's broken promises, irresolution, lack of insight and entire want of worldly wisdom must (one suspects) have been profoundly saddening.

"I beseech your Majesty to believe whether I live or die I am entirely yours." This final assurance of unqualified devotion is the last we know of Claverhouse ; "the rest is silence" ; and it is best in keeping with the tenor of his life that we should be in ignorance of the end. Reticent and self-controlled as he was, it is scarcely likely that even to his faithful brother David or his close friend Pitcur he would have revealed his inmost thoughts. "His death he took with patience," as we learn from a contemporary¹ ; but such "patience" can hardly have denoted resignation ; rather it must have been that counterfeit of Spartan fortitude which masks despair.

It may be conjectured that Dundee was too clear-sighted not to recognise that his irregular army, which, a few weeks since, had been demoralised by his brief illness, must be rendered almost useless by his death. Who could know better the especial flaw of Highland troops than he their leader, who by his own sheer strength of will and personality had bound together the conflicting elements which, when his

¹ The Rev. Thomas Morer, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the battle. See note, p. 341 *ante*.

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iron grip had even temporarily been relaxed, had fallen at once into disorder verging upon chaos. If, as we conjecture, the consciousness of this was bitten deep into his mind during his dying hour, he must have realised with terrible distinctness the futility of all his labours and the tragic hollowness of victory.

He must have known his country and his world too well to count on any other man successfully maintaining that command which he by death unwillingly resigned just at the hour when life was of supremest value. For faith and loyalty he could rely upon Balcarres; but Balcarres, despite winning personal charm, was useless as a leader, though it was he who, jointly with Claverhouse, had been selected by King James to bring about the Restoration. Balcarres and Dundee in London had been true to James when almost every other friend had failed him; and recalling their last melancholy walk with the unhappy King,¹ Dundee as his life ebbed would probably have given more than a passing thought to his tried comrade Lord Balcarres.

Of the laws of psychic phenomena nothing was known then, and not much is known now; but, in these ages of telepathy and of renewed research into inexplicable mysteries, it is of interest to recall an old tradition in the Lindsay family, which illustrates the link between Balcarres and his former Colonel. They had parted hastily some four months earlier, when Lord Balcarres (it will be remembered) contrary to Claverhouse's wish had stayed in Edinburgh to wait for Atholl. Atholl had proved a broken reed, and the mistaken amiability of Lord Balcarres had resulted in his being taken prisoner. A very active man, addicted to hard exercise on foot as well as horseback, he was extremely miserable cooped up in gaol; and mental exasperation at being ignominiously laid by the heels while Claverhouse was winning laurels in the North must have considerably aggravated the ill-health brought on by lack of air and want of his accustomed exercise.

On the night of July the 27th, just at the hour when

¹ Chapter VI., p. 197 *ante*.

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night gives way to dawn, he was—so says the story—wakened suddenly, to find that Claverhouse was standing by his bedside. He had no thought of any ghostly visitation, rather it seemed his friend had come at last to set him free; and so he greeted him. But Claverhouse looked down on him with an austere and melancholy gaze, lingered a while in stern unbroken silence, and then disappeared as suddenly and silently as he had come.

Not many hours afterwards, some frightened fugitives from Killiecrankie brought word that General Mackay had been defeated with great slaughter. In utmost consternation Hamilton and the Convention then awaited Lord Dundee's triumphal entry into Edinburgh. But soon came tidings of his death; and Lord Balcarres subsequently learnt that at the very moment he had wakened to see Claverhouse's apparition, Claverhouse himself had breathed his last at dawn after the fatal victory.

Such is the romantic legend.¹

Of Montrose's death we have minute accounts by numerous eye-witnesses; of Claverhouse's end (though thirty-nine years nearer our own time) we have no more than mere tradition; but, though his dying moments are concealed from us, the drama of his life is clear enough. "He had ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the Great Montrose."² If this is so—and surely the evidence of facts is its best warrant—he set himself a definite example and strove rigorously to live up to it. In estimating his achievements it is essential never to forget the inspiration and example of his greater kinsman. It was from study of Montrose's exploits—and not from his own personal experience abroad—that he had learnt the military lessons which enabled him to rout Mackay. It may be granted that not all the study of a lifetime would have fitted him to follow in the master's footsteps if he had not in himself the elements of such success, but, even so, his debt to the

¹ Lord Lindsay's "Lives of the Lindsays," vol. ii., p. 170; and Law's "Memorials," Preface, p. xci.

² Dalrymple, ed. 1790, vol. ii., Part I., Book VIII., p. 300.

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“Great Marquess,” both in a technical and moral sense, is still considerable.

It has been observed that there was a deeper mental gulf between the Civil War and Revolution than between the Revolution and our present age ; and though this is true only with the partial truth of a generality, yet the men of 1688, the Sunderlands and Shrewsburys and Halifaxes who stage-managed the “Immortal Glorious Revolution,” were so strikingly unlike the Straffords, Cromwells, and Montroses of an earlier generation as to suggest that there was some more crucial change than what is merely brought about by time. It may be said that Cromwell, Strafford, and Montrose were of the age of giants ; whereas Lords Sunderland and Shrewsbury were merely average men, of talent somewhat more subtle than their fellows. Strafford, Cromwell, and Montrose toiled for ideas, and gave themselves up heart and soul to their stupendous undertakings. Whether they were right or wrong is not the question ; that they lived on the grand scale must be admitted even by their bitterest detractors ; and accordingly their followers fought and died with all the fervour which great men inspire in their subordinates. But the Restoration was a reactionary age of scepticism ; and none more sceptical and cynically opportunist than his Sacred Majesty King Charles II., who was half French by birth and wholly French in temperament. Not French after the fashion of King Henry of Navarre, his grandfather (whose vices he inherited without his regal greatness), but French with limitations such as reveal themselves most plainly in the maxims of La Rochefoucauld.

The once-famed chivalry and faith of France were represented in the time of Claverhouse by types such as De Grammont and Saint Evremond — gay witty gentlemen, equipped with worldly wisdom, grace, dexterity, finesse, so-called “philosophy” and that suave easy geniality which not infrequently accompanies a low ideal. These Gallic elements, though not perhaps affecting England as a whole, predominated at the Court, and formed the moral atmosphere of Claverhouse’s social world.

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With all its gaiety and flippancy the Restoration now appears to us far more depressing than the tragic period which preceded it. The old faiths had died out, the ardour of the previous age had flagged beneath the weight of bitter knowledge and experience; the sons of fathers who had risked their all for loyalty scoffed at such quixotry and plumed themselves on their superior enlightenment. The parallel between Montrose and Claverhouse, and similarity of military genius, should not distract us from one vital contrast in their mental outlook. Montrose was an idealist and poet, one who (in the slighting phrase of Bishop Burnet) "lived as in a romance"; but Claverhouse was of a generation which was born disillusioned.

Montrose, in all that appertained to war, was practical as Cromwell, but in affairs of state his notions were so lofty and magnanimous that they could scarcely have achieved success unless all men had been of natures kindred to his own. In his political ideals he stood alone in Scotland, in an age when Scotland was made hideous by bigotry and turbulence, parochial narrowness, religious tyranny, and brutal and grotesque fanaticism. His character is so supremely noble that it is a painful task to point out how his very virtues in excess became defects. On fire with burning and heroic zeal, he was himself so free from petty personal considerations that he could imperfectly foresee or comprehend the attitude of mediocre and self-seeking men. A nature such as his is born to be a burnt-offering; and his passionate idealism and generous trust proved in the end his ruin.

"*A l'homme vaillant rien d'impossible*"; and in war Montrose achieved what had been thought beyond the bounds of possibility. But a great leader in the field—the man who under stress of physical danger has the gift to dominate his followers and light in them some spark of the same fire which animates himself—is not infallibly the one who can walk warily amongst political entanglements. Indeed it is a lamentable fact that in the world of statecraft and intrigue the frank heroic spirit is too often made the victim of his baser brethren. The tragedy of Montrose's life consists not in the

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vivid suffering and sorrow which so closely followed on his brilliant triumphs, not even in his early death in all the vigour of his manhood, but in the fact that by his overthrow he represents the victory of ignoble guile, of treachery and personal malice, over a mind which to the last had been inspired by impersonal ideals and generous illusions. Argyll—cool-headed, wily and astute, of Machiavellian intellect and subtle craft—was suited to the temper of the times. Montrose defeated him in battle, defeated him in his own Highland fastnesses which he had boastfully declared were inaccessible; but in the game of politics Montrose the Conqueror was in his turn the conquered.

If King Charles's champion could have added to his military strategy a worldly wisdom equal to Argyll's, he would have dominated Scotland. But he disdained all subterfuge, ignored men's weaknesses, and looked to find in others something of his own disinterested devotion. He strove to work upon the higher natures of his countrymen, and never on those baser motives which are so closely intertwined with all affairs of state.

Claverhouse, who in his boyhood would continually have seen one of Montrose's severed limbs nailed up above the South Gate of Dundee, must early in life have taken to heart the lesson of his hero's life. Throughout his correspondence we observe a knowledge of men's foibles, an insight into character, a penetrative and ironic humour, which are in striking contrast to the noble blindness of Montrose.

Though Claverhouse's sense of honour was austere and lofty, it was, as we have seen, by no means incompatible with utter absence of illusion. With military genius second only to Montrose, he showed the very quality of worldly wisdom in which Montrose proved tragically lacking; and while Montrose's tone of mind was that of Bayard or of even earlier paladins, Dundee could grapple with political conditions actually existent. Uniting with his military abilities uncommon diplomatic skill, if he had lived to follow up his victory there is every reason to believe he could have

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won back Scotland for the fallen dynasty. Such at the time was the conviction no less of his bitter enemies than of his most devoted friends—the one opinion held in common by “that mighty Prince, Duke Hamilton” and by the hapless dispossessed King James, the last Stuart King *de facto*.

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*Effects misinterpreted, cases wrong told,
circumstances overlooked, perhaps, too,
prejudices and partialities against
Truth, may for a time prevail, and
keep her at the bottom of her well;
from which nevertheless she emergeth
sooner or later, and striketh the eyes
of all who do not keep them shut.—*

BISHOP BERKELEY.

*Virtue cannot lie hid, for the time will
come that shall raise it again, even
after it is buried, and deliver it from
the malignity of the age that oppressed
it. Immortal Glory is the shadow of
it . . . but sometimes the shadow goes
before the substance, and otherwhiles
it follows. And the later it comes the
longer it lasts, when Envy itself shall
have given way to it.—SENECA.*

Chapter XII: An Historical Retrospect

WHEN, after sunrise on July the 28th, the clansmen went to view the scene of combat they found it (says Balhaldie) strewn with corpses of their enemies; and these bodies showed so slashed and mangled that the very conquerors could scarcely look on such grim proofs of their own prowess without feeling something of that horror which in war treads closely on the heels of glory. Macdonald of Largo and Glengarry's brother were among the slain; slain also was Glengarry's young son Donald "of the blue eyes," who, before he fell, accounted for no less than eighteen of the enemy.

The victory was complete. The baggage, tents, provisions, and artillery of General Mackay were all at the disposal of the Highlanders; amongst their trophies was the Orange Standard carried by Mackay's own regiment. But the price paid was too heavy; and in the songs sung by the Gaelic bards to celebrate the fight, wails of impassioned lamentation mingled with the notes of triumph, for they mourned the loss of their beloved General, "Dark John the Warrior," and the men of the Clan Cameron and Clan Donald lay thick upon the field.

In the last famous battle fought in the sister kingdom for the same Stuart cause—the battle of the Boyne Valley, where King James's followers were scattered and King James's military reputation wrecked for ever—the conquerors lost

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scarcely 500 men out of their 36,000.¹ But Killiecrankie, though on so small a scale, was a more desperate fight; and whereas at the Boyne one man fell in every seventy, at Killiecrankie almost every second man in Claverhouse's force was slain; and General Mackay fled through the Pass with little more than half the numbers he had brought into the field that morning.

But while the routed army, under cover of the gathering darkness, was in headlong flight, anticipating hot pursuit and thinking Claverhouse would soon be master of all Scotland, the dreaded champion of King James was dying of his wounds; and so it came about that the victorious clansmen on the morning following the fight had rather the air of broken troops than of exultant conquerors; for here it could be truly said, "'The vanquished triumphed, and the victors mourned.' The death of their brave General, and the loss of so many of their friends, were inexhaustible fountains of grief and sorrow."² Dundee and those of his officers who had fallen with him were buried in the little chapel near Blair Castle, "with a real funeral solemnity," there not being present one "single person who did not participate in the general affliction."³

But the defeated forces—ignorant of this—fled south-east at a mighty pace, and scattered panic and confusion as they fled.

"Never were men in such consternation as Duke Hamilton and the rest of the Parliament at Edinburgh" when the news of Mackay's overthrow was brought by the fugitives from Killiecrankie. "Some were for retiring to England, others to the Western shires of Scotland,"⁴ for the prospect of Dundee's arrival at the head of a triumphant army filled them with dismay. "They were convinced that

¹ Or 40,000; there is a dispute as to the figures.

² Balhaldie, p. 282.

³ *Ibid.* Dundee is believed to have been buried in the Atholl vault; and in 1889 the Duke of Atholl erected a memorial tablet in his honour. In the inscription the Duke (misled by Napier) estimates Dundee's age at forty-six, instead of forty, or (at the outside) forty-one.

⁴ Balcarres' "Memoirs," p. 48 (Bannatyne Club ed.).

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he would allow them no time to deliberate,"¹ and the position of Hamilton was more than awkward in the event of a coming Restoration. Accordingly he wrote to Lord Melville,

"My humble opinion is that his Majesty must first beat Dundee and secure the kingdom ere he attempt any other thing. And now Dundee will be master of all the other side of Forth, where there are so many great numbers of disaffected to join him. So the King must make haste to assist us to reduce him, for I fear we shall not be able to defend this side of Forth long. . . . We do not know what to do with the prisoners; there is so many of them in the Castle and Tolbooth here."²

Balcarres, who was one of the prisoners in question, says that though debarred from seeing their friends they had many visits from their enemies, whose devotion to the Prince of Orange seemed to have cooled abruptly. Hamilton's following adopted an apologetic attitude, explaining they had always meant well, as they would show so soon as the occasion offered.

"Mackay is either killed or taken, by all the account we have yet got," writes his Grace of Hamilton to Lord Melville³; and in another letter written the next day (July the 29th) he expresses his fear that Perthshire and Angus will be in arms, and that if Dundee carries Stirling he will have all Scotland.⁴

Sir John Dalrymple, Lord Advocate, writing also to Melville, refers to the "very sad and surprising news," and adds, "I think the other side of Tay is lost, and Fife in a very ill tune—the Lord help us!" And the Solicitor-General, Sir William Lockhart, says, "All we can now do is to intreat the King will send force[s] with all expedition here, for we have nothing to hinder Dundee to overrun the whole country."⁵

¹ Balhaldie, p. 282.

² "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 203-204.

³ *Ibid.* p. 203.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 206.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 204-205.

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The alarm was amply justified, or would have been but for the fatal shot which killed the conquering General. On July the 29th, the day Dundee had chosen for the rendezvous, the chiefs and clansmen who had promised their support came into camp in full strength: Camerons of Lochiel under Lochiel's eldest son, Camerons of Glendessary, Stuarts of Appin, Macdonalds of Lochaber and Glencoe, the men of Atholl, a party of Macgregors, and even the dilatory Cluny and a couple of hundred of his Macphersons. The following day the army was further augmented by the Farquharsons, the Frasers, and the Gordons of Glenlivet and Strathdon.

“ Besides these, the Northern Shires were all in arms, and the greatest part of the Low-Country gentry through all parts of the kingdom were ready to join them, and expected their advance with impatience; and it was generally computed that before they arrived at the Borders of England they would be forty thousand men strong . . . so general was the inclination at that time to have restored King James.”¹

For this Dundee had toiled incessantly ever since he raised the Standard, over four months previously. “ All the world will be with us, blessed be God,” he had written to Cluny on the eve of Killiecrankie; and his enemies were fully cognisant how widespread was his influence. Panic-stricken, they assumed that General Mackay's whole army had been wiped out. But in a couple of days many of the officers who had been “ documented ” killed, arrived unhurt in Edinburgh²; and as there was no news of Dundee's advance “ they began to take a little heart; and, soon after, they had news of his death, which put an end to their fears, for they knew well ” (says Balcarres) that there was “ none in his army had abilities, name, or reputation enough to make a just use of his victory.”

And then, relates Balhaldie, “ so soon as Dundee's death was generally known, the scene changed, and all those mighty

¹ Balhaldie, p. 283.

² *Ibid.*

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preparations [of the Highland clans] and that universal spirit of Jacobitism vanished into nothing."¹

Thus was proved the truth of Lochiel's prophecy that if the leader fell the cause was doomed; and his Grace of Hamilton was quick to recognise this fact. "They say," he wrote to Melville (on July the 30th), "Colonel Cannon commands now the Highlanders since Dundee is gone, by whose death I think they have little reason to brag of the victory."² So says even Dr Gilbert Burnet; and "thus," he adds, "Dundee fell with great fame and was esteemed a second Montrose."³

Advised to send a large army into the Highlands to stamp out the "rebellion," King William paid his tribute to the memory of his ablest opponent:—armies, he said, were needless, the war had ended with Dundee's life.

Significant as is this saying of an enemy, there is a testimony from a friend which should stand side by side with it. In 1690, when the Prince of Orange was established firmly on the throne, a committee of Presbyterian inquisitors was appointed in Edinburgh to cross-examine members of the University and see if they were reconciled to the new Government. The Principal of the college, Dr Alexander Munro, "an excellent man,"⁴ had been nominated Bishop of Argyll in 1688 through Claverhouse's influence, but, before he could be consecrated, the Revolution intervened and crushed Episcopacy. Munro's friendship with King James's champion could not be forgotten, and one of the charges brought against him was that he had exulted at the news of Killiecrankie. Deliberately misunderstanding the indictment, he expressed astonishment that it should be thought possible he had rejoiced when Claverhouse was killed.

His interrogators may well have been amazed to hear him thus inviting worldly ruin; but they made no remark; and then Munro spoke still more strongly. "No gentleman,"

¹ Balhaldie, p. 283.

² "Leven and Melville Papers," pp. 199, 200.

³ Foxcroft's "Supplement to Burnet's Own Time," p. 325.

⁴ Fountainhall, "Chron. Notes," p. 65. Principal Munro was son of Hugh Munro of Fyresh, a cadet of the Munros of Foulis.

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said he, "no soldier, scholar, or civilised citizen will find fault with me for this."

If the report of the proceedings is to be trusted, not a single voice was raised in argument; even members of an Inquisitorial Committee were unwilling to incur the odium of being branded neither gentlemen nor civilised citizens. Doctor Munro was destined to lose his place for his plain-speaking, and he must have known what such frankness would entail; but with rare moral courage he none the less paid final tribute to the memory of the dead hero: "I had an extraordinary value for him, and such of his enemies who retain any generosity will acknowledge he deserved it."¹

There were various contradictory statements of the time and circumstances of the victor's fall. Mackay, who had beaten his retreat in horrible anticipation of a relentless pursuit by his determined adversary, afterwards claimed for his own regiment the credit of the fatal shot; and Stewart of Stenton, in a letter written two days subsequent to the engagement, states that "my Lord Dundee was shot dead on the head of his horse."² But Dundee as we have seen was not shot dead; and, curiously enough, the last authentic tidings that we have of him in life come down to us through evidence elicited by his most bitter enemies during the process of his attainder and the confiscation of his lands. The very same men who so feared him living, after his death essayed by Act of Parliament to wipe out his "name, fame and honour." His blood was declared "tainted" and his Grahame shield and phœnix crest were "riven furth and delett" out of the Book of Arms, in token that his family should never be able to enjoy in future any honours, titles or hereditary possessions.³

¹ "Presbyterian Inquisition as it was lately practised, etc., August and September 1690," pp. 35, 36. London, 1691.

² Hist. MSS. Comm. MSS. of the Duke of Atholl, K.T., Rep. 12, App., Part VII. In the same letter Gilbert Ramsay is called "Robert Ramsay." Sir W. Fraser, in favour of the letter being reliable evidence of Dundee's death, pointed out that Dundee was referred to as dead and Pitcur as mortally wounded—but Dundee was really dead by the time the letter was written, whereas Pitcur lingered for several days.

³ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 62.

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During the process, several officers who had fought at Killiecrankie under Mackay were examined on oath, and amongst them one Lieutenant John Nisbet of Captain McCulloch's Company in Lord Kenmuir's Regiment of Foot. Nisbet, who had been taken prisoner by Major William Graham of Balquhapple, testifies to the kindness and courtesy of his conquerors, "especially Mr Colin Mackenzie," who twice gave him money and some other necessaries while he was with the Jacobite army. Nisbet—judging by the tenor of his evidence—seems to have acquired a half-reluctant liking for his captors; and apparently they had discussed the battle with him in friendly fashion. He relates how several of them came into the room where he was imprisoned, and said to him that the "Viscount's body was interred"¹; and in relating this, Nisbet added that he remembered particularly "one named Johnstone"² telling him how he had caught Lord Dundee in his arms as "he fell from his horse, after his being shot," and how when Dundee asked how the day went, Johnstone had answered "the day went well for the King (meaning King James) but that he was sorry for his lordship. And the Viscount replied *It was the less matter for him, seeing that the day went well for his master.*"³

These characteristic words of Dundee (which come down to us through the testimony of an officer who had fought against him, and of the Parliament that had outlawed him) are eminently significant: "It is *the less* matter for me." A more quixotic man, carried away by the excitement of such a moment—the shock of a mortal wound and the exaltation of a great victory—might have said, "It is *no matter* for me," and posterity would have applauded the picturesque phrase. But Dundee, with all his devotion, was not quixotic; and the white heat of his ardour appears never to have blurred that clarity of intellect for which he is at all times remarkable.

¹ No date given by Nisbet.

² Probably the Standard-Bearer's "Johnstone Youth," who may have been "Mr John Johnstone, brother of the Earl of Annandale," mentioned for prosecution. (Acts. Parl. Scot., p. 215.)

³ Evidence of Lieutenant Nisbet, May 14, 1690. (Acts of Parl. Scot., vol. ix., Appendix, p. 56.)

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His aversion to exaggeration, his aloofness from the coarser vices, his mingled reticence and frankness, and his courteously ironic sense of humour, are not characteristics which will endear him to the multitude, however much they may attract those few who are of kindred mental calibre. His political views are not such as now draw out our sympathy ; but, sweeping aside the calumnies of party prejudice, and allowing ourselves at last to see him as a man and a human being, what most impresses us is not so much his sheer ability (though that was great) as the rare combination of seldom-united qualities which made him stand alone among the soldiers and the statesmen of his day. With a fastidious sense of honour he combined a diplomatic talent and astuteness, which enabled him to out-manœuvre by legitimate means experienced schemers who were far from scrupulous in choice of weapons. Animated by consistently strong feelings, his mind was nevertheless so balanced, and his self-control so well assured, that even in his most heated moments we observe his sense of justice, his vigour of logical reasoning and his insight into the character of others. Keen of perception, prompt in execution, with all his passions and prejudices well under command, he reveals himself as an enthusiast free from illusions, an accomplished man of the world unstained by the vices of his time.

The man whom "neither love nor any other folly" could distract from what he felt to be his duty, was by his very lack of weaknesses debarred from that cheap universal popularity which is the meed of natures less austere and strenuous. But the devotion he inspired in his intimates was so complete that neither death could change nor time diminish it. On Sheriffmuir in 1715, when the ranks of the Jacobites were breaking and the chance of victory had been lost for lack of leadership, a Highlander who six and twenty years before had fought at Killiecrankie, exclaimed in agony of grief and rage, "O for an hour of Dundee !" And truly the Jacobite cause was lost, not at Sheriffmuir, not even at Culloden, but at Killiecrankie, when in the moment of supremest triumph a chance shot from a flying and defeated enemy

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changed—as King James himself declared—the fate of the three kingdoms.¹

It was an Edinburgh contemporary who wrote of Claverhouse, within a few weeks of his death, that touching Latin elegy which Dryden almost at once converted into English verse :

“O last and best of Scots, who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign,
New people fill the land now thou art gone,
New Gods the temples, and new Kings the throne.
Scotland and thou didst in each other live,
Nor would'st thou her nor could she thee survive.
Farewell, who dying didst support the State,
And could not fall but with thy Country's fate.”

Looking back across the gulf of centuries we may prefer Dutch William to King James, and may be satisfied that for our ultimate prosperity the wiping out of the Stuart kings was an inevitable act in the great national drama. The bond of James of England with *le Roi Soleil* may seem to some of us no less impolitic than it appeared to William, Prince of Orange, whose hereditary hatred of the French and jealousy of Louis Quatorze was verily his ruling passion. It was James's alliance with France—the country whence the Huguenots had been so harshly thrust out in innumerable thousands—that roused (as we have seen) such feelings of distrust and terror in the hearts of many of the English Protestant nobility and gentry, who in those days gave the tone to popular opinion. But in Scotland, be it remembered, the French alliance was an institution of such venerable origin, so bound up with tradition, custom, sentiment, and policy that many Presbyterians concurred in it. (We speak here of the Presbyterians in the rational sense, not of the wild fanatics who had no idea of policy beyond kirk tyranny more violent than the worst tyranny of kings.)

To join with France against the common adversary, England, had always been the habit of the Scottish kings; and when, by failure of direct heirs to the Tudor line, the English were compelled to take a king from Scotland, the

¹ James II.'s “Memoirs,” ed. Clarke (vol. ii., pp. 352-353).

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Scoto-French alliance was continued by the Royal Stuarts, regardless of the anti-Gallic feeling of the English.

The Revolution of 1688, so far as it was engineered by the Whig lords who deputed for Providence on the occasion, was the English protest against Scotch and French dominion. The anti-Catholic panic, both north and south of the Tweed, played so conspicuous a part that it has somewhat obscured the other issues. Regarded retrospectively, the question seems rather to be the place which France should take among the nations than what form of religious service should be used at Whitehall and St James's. The local aspect of the case appears so solely on the basis of "No Popery" that we are apt to forget the European issues, issues of which the actors were themselves in many cases scarcely conscious. France had come to the zenith of her power, and the forces of reaction had set in. The Prince of Orange, acquiring the English crown and turning English arms against his enemy and neighbour, inaugurated once again the ancient English opposition to the dominant claims of France, and paved the way for Marlborough's victories, which in a few years were to raise the prestige of England to a height unparalleled in her past history.

The Stuarts as English rulers failed in many ways, but chiefly in their lack of sympathy with English national feelings. If England was to acquire the strength which in the end enabled her to overthrow at Waterloo the conqueror of the world, then seemingly the Stuarts had to be swept aside.

It is some vague instinctive consciousness of this which makes the average Englishman condemn the Stuarts as kings, no matter how much he may feel their charm as men. But Claverhouse, we should remember, was a Scotsman, not an Englishman, and, so far as he could see, the interests of his country were best served by the Stuart monarchy and French alliance. For this he fought; and it is the irony of fate that one so eminently fitted for a life in which large issues played the leading part, should have been thus constrained by duty to uphold what we would now call the provincial cause. To

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him, and to the great proportion of his countrymen, it was the national cause.

The British Empire of to-day, though in its infancy, was not then recognised ; all politics were primarily local. The Scots and English interests—which had been linked together by the Stuarts—in Claverhouse's eyes were sharply severed when the English took a Dutchman for their king ; and no one then could have foreseen the progress of events by which this severance was in the end to lead to closer union.

It was no mere poetical hyperbole which prompted the Jacobite lament over the hero of Killiecrankie as the "last and best of Scots," for it would scarcely be too much to say that with his death, and the consequent collapse of the Stuart hopes, historic Scotland ceased to be an independent nation. The approaching Act of Union in 1707, and the break-up of the ancient Scottish Parliament, was, as someone scoffingly said, "the end of the old song" ; and though the Scotland of to-day tenaciously retains distinctive characteristics, her fame is merged in that of Britain and the British Empire.

The whirligig of time brings in its revenges, and the Highlanders of 1689, in arms for James the Scottish king and for the French alliance, could little have surmised that in a few more generations their descendants would be fighting side by side with English troops against the French in North America. Few who stood on the contemporary stage in 1689 could have foreseen the larger future even dimly.

It is time to look dispassionately on the "Glorious and Immortal Revolution," and, while commending its remote results, we should do honour to the moral courage and inviolate fidelity of Claverhouse who so consistently stood out against it. Dying for the losing cause—a cause which he alone could have kept living—he left his name to be a target for the shafts of his political opponents ; and succeeding generations have not troubled to discriminate between the real facts and the malice of a party. But the time has come for Englishmen, if not for Scotsmen, to do justice to his powers as a General, his character as a man, and his ideals as a patriot.

Grahame of Claverhouse

It is in his military capacity he will appeal most strongly to those minds which feel the continuity of history. Embodying as he did the class of generalship of which Montrose was the great pioneer, he, like Montrose, was spiritual ancestor to some of our best present types of military leaders. His qualities of bold initiative, originality, adaptibility, and of complete emancipation from the mere conventionalities of his profession, are the same qualities which both by land and sea have characterised our greatest warriors of a later date.

But in rendering tardy justice to Dundee as a commander and strategist, it is not therefore necessary to be too severe in passing judgment on Mackay. Far better troops than his might have been scattered by the Highland host at Killiecrankie under such leadership as that of Claverhouse. With all the advantage and impetus of a superior position on the slopes of Creag Ealliach, the clansmen, with their formidable volley followed by a desperate onslaught with their naked swords, were almost bound to break the ranks of soldiers unaccustomed to this novel mode of war and quite inadequately armed to meet such savage and impetuous foes. Mackay was out-generalled by his abler opponent because, as we have shown, Dundee, gauging the weaknesses of regular troops, and knowing the way to utilise the special Highland qualities, gained first of all a fine strategical position on his adversary's flank, then forced him to form parallel to his line of advance, with a torrent in flood behind him, and no line of retreat except a narrow, difficult and rocky pass.

In considering the case of General Mackay, experienced British soldiers may recall how, in 1879, the Afghan tribesmen, with obsolete firearms but with their formidable native spears and swords, came near to break our finest disciplined troops armed with breechloading firearms and effective bayonets. They will remember how in South Africa, in the same year, the dauntless Zulus, with their muskets and their stabbing assagais, closed on the British ranks, and on more than one occasion broke and overwhelmed them with great slaughter. Moreover many soldiers may remember the splendid courage of the Mahdi's followers, who by methods

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very similar to those of Claverhouse's Highlanders did actually break (in 1884) one of our squares at Tamai, and by sheer weight of numbers almost overthrew our Desert Column under the brave and vigorous Sir Herbert Stewart at Abu Klea Wells in 1885.

Excepting only the Italians in their appalling defeat by the Abyssinians at Adowa, ours is the only nation which has experienced in its wars during the last half-century conditions such as were in operation when Mackay confronted Claverhouse at Killiecrankie. And now our British generals by their experience in many difficult campaigns have learnt the need of varying their tactics to suit the savage characteristics and strange climates of their quarter-civilised opponents. It was for lack of understanding this essential factor in irregular war that General Mackay was beaten by the Highland "rabble" he had so despised. No British soldier will condemn him harshly ; he failed under conditions parallel to those which have in later times severely tried our own best men. But while condoning and commiserating the misfortune of Mackay, we must pay fitting tribute to his conqueror, whose military insight, daring and strategic skill entitle him to rank with those great modern generals to whom in temperament and mental constitution he shows such close affinity. Widely popular in his own country the "Persecutor" will never be ; for "it is not Truth but Opinion that can travel the world without a passport," and in Scotland rumour and tradition have a kind of immortality. But among his peers, such generals and leaders of to-day as also have "toiled much" for an ideal of duty,—great men who in their courage, vigour and high spirit are his brothers,—he should win at last that recognition and appreciation which the bigotry of faction has so long withheld.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY: JOHN GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE

1648, July or August. Born, presumably at Glenogilvy, near Glamis, in Forfarshire.

1658 (*aged ten*). Started his college life at St Andrews.

1660. Admitted to the third year's class in St Salvator's College.

1660, September 22. Admitted a burghess and Guild-brother of Dundee.

1661, July 27. Graduated M.A.

1662, July. Placed under the ward of his uncle, David, Lord Lour, afterwards second Earl of Northesk.

1669 (*aged twenty*). February 11. Commissioner of Excise and J.P. for Forfarshire.

1669, June 24. Commission withdrawn on the ground that he was still a minor.

1669, September 2. Commission restored.

1672, July, to 1674, February. "Spent some time in the French service as a volunteer with great reputation and applause." ("Memoir," 1714.) Probably in Sir William Lockhart's regiment (commission to "John Graham" as Junior Lieutenant, July 25, 1672).

1674, July. Entered the service of the Prince of Orange.

1674, August 11. Present in the battle of Seneffe between the Prince of Orange and Prince de Condé.

[1674, November 9. The Prince of Orange returned to The Hague after the capitulation of Grave.]

1675. Second campaign under the Prince of Orange.

1675 (before October 6). Death of Lady Magdalen Grahame, Claverhouse's mother.

1676, March 7. Claverhouse in Edinburgh.

1676, March 30. He sailed for Holland.

[1676, July 1 to August 28. Unsuccessful siege of Maastricht.]

1676, November 24. Claverhouse commissioned Rittmeister (Captain of Horse).

[1677. Continued Campaign of the Prince of Orange against the French.]

1677, November. Claverhouse left the Dutch Service. [The Prince of Orange married Princess Mary of York.]

1678, February 19. Claverhouse in Scotland, and offered a lieutenancy in the Marquess of Montrose's troop of the Duke of York's Royal

Regiment of Horse. Refused this and went abroad again, February 27 (approx.).

1678, June 18. Served heir to his grandfather and great-great-grandfather; and to his father in the Glen or Barony of Ogilvy.

1678 (*aged thirty*). September 23. Commissioned captain of one of three newly raised troops of Horse.

1678, December 28. Started conventicle hunting, and took up his headquarters at Dumfries.

1679, February 27. Sheriff-Depute of Dumfries, Annandale, Wigtown and Kirkcudbright.

1679, February. Opening of his correspondence with the Earl of Menteith in regard to marriage with Helen Grahame.

1679, March, April, May. On duty in Galloway.

1679, June 1. Defeated by the Covenanters at Drumclog.

1679, June 2. Defence of Glasgow by Lord Ross and Claverhouse against a rebel attack.

1679, June 22. Claverhouse commanded his troop of Horse at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and captured two standards.

1679, June 23. Successful skirmish between Claverhouse and the Covenanters at Ayr.

1680, January. Claverhouse in Galloway and thereabouts.

1680, February. Claverhouse received a grant of the forfeited estate of Macdowall of Freugh in Wigtownshire.

1680, March (or end of February). Claverhouse went to London.

1681, October 7. Claverhouse received the freedom of Stirling.

1681, December 12 and 13. On the jury at Argyll's trial in Edinburgh.

1682, January 19. Sheriff of Wigtown and Bailie of the Regality of Tongland, Sheriff-Depute of Dumfries, Annandale and Kirkcudbright. (Heard that Helen Grahame was to marry Sir Arthur Rawdon.)

1682, May 15. Received the thanks of the Council for his services in Galloway.

1682, December 14. Claverhouse's indictment of Sir John Dalrymple; Sir John's counter-charges.

1682, December 25. Claverhouse promoted Colonel, and a regiment of Horse formed for him.

Appendix One

- 1683, February 12. Claverhouse acquitted, and Dalrymple condemned by the Privy Council.
- 1683, March. Claverhouse in England, at Court.
- 1683, March 9. At Newmarket with Charles II.
- 1683, May 11. Privy Councillor.
- 1683, May 4. Left Windsor for Scotland.
- 1683, May 31. Commissioned to attend the Justices on circuit.
- 1684, April 22. Commanding the troops in Ayrshire.
- 1684, April 23. Received crown charter of Dudhope Castle, the lands of Castlehill, and the office of Constable of Dundee.
- 1684, June 10. Marriage with Lady Jean Cochrane.
- 1684, June 10-16, and most of July and August. On duty, hunting for armed Covenanters.
- 1684, September 6. Claverhouse and Lord Drumlanrig empowered to hold courts and punish "disorders and irregularities" in Annandale, Wigtown, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright.
- 1684, September 10. Requested the Privy Council to empower him to commute death sentences of certain criminals in Dundee Tolbooth.
- 1684, October. Claverhouse at home at Dudhope Castle.
- 1684, December 11. Claverhouse backed the petition of the soldiers to the Privy Council against Colonel James Douglas.
- [1684, December 11. Murder of the Curate of Carsphairn by the Covenanters.]
- 1684, December 16. Attack by the Covenanters on Kirkcudbright Gaol. Consequent activity of Claverhouse.
- 1684, December. Beginning of Claverhouse's quarrel with Queensberry.
- 1685, February 10. Claverhouse in Edinburgh, signed the proclamation of King James's accession.
- 1685, February, March, April. Claverhouse excluded from the Privy Council.
- 1685, May 3. Claverhouse reports execution of John Brown, a Bothwell Bridge fugitive.
- 1685, May 11. King James restored Claverhouse to the Privy Council, but he did not take his seat at once because employed on the Borders preventing communication between the partisans of Monmouth and Argyll.
- 1685, July 16. Resumed his seat in Council.
- 1685, December 10. Queensberry ordered to pay back the £596 sterling he had exacted from Claverhouse.
- 1685, December. Claverhouse at Court in England.
- 1685, December 21. The title of "His Majesty's Own Regiment of Horse" bestowed on Claverhouse's regiment.
- 1686, February 16. Claverhouse supported the Chancellor's protest against a seditious preacher's adverse reflections on Catholicism.
- 1686, September 20. Promoted "Major-General of all his Majesty's [Horse] Forces in Scotland," and granted a pension of £200 a year.
- 1687, February 24. Claverhouse signed King James's Declaration of Toleration.
- 1687, June 27 till November. In England.
- 1687, December. One of the witnesses against Renwick.
- 1688, March 15. Appointed Provost of Dundee.
- 1688, March 27. Installed Provost.
- 1688, May 15. Present in Council when the King's further Indulgence was announced.
- 1688, June 14. In Council when a thanksgiving was ordered for the birth of the Prince of Wales.
- 1688 (*aged forty*). October. The Revolution. Militia called out. Scottish Regular forces summoned to England, James Douglas in command as Lieutenant-General, and Claverhouse Major-General and Second-in-Command. Arrived in England in about three weeks.
- [1688, November 5. Landing of William of Orange at Torbay.]
- 1688, November 12. Claverhouse raised to the peerage as Viscount Dundee and Lord Grahame of Claverhouse.
- [1688, December 10. King James disbanded the army.
- 1688, December 11. King James's flight from London.
- 1688, December 16. King James's return to London.]
- 1688, December 17. King James's last walk in the Mall with Dundee and Balcarres.
- [1688, December 17. Arrival of the Prince of Orange at Sion House.
- 1688, December 18. James left Whitehall.
- 1688, December 23. James sailed for France.]
- 1689, February 24. Lord Dundee at Dudhope.
- 1689, February 27. Lord Dundee presiding as Provost over the Town Council at Dundee.
- 1689, March 12 or 13. Lord Dundee left Dudhope for Edinburgh.
- 1689, March 14. Meeting of the Convention in Edinburgh, Lord Dundee present, and signed the roll. Duke of Hamilton elected President.
- 1689, March 14. Dundee's secret interview with the Duke of Gordon in Edinburgh Castle.
- 1689, March 15. Dundee reported to the Convention an attempt to assassinate him and the Lord Advocate Mackenzie.
- 1689, March 16. The King's disastrous letter read to the Convention.
- 1689, March 18. Dundee rode out of Edinburgh with forty or fifty troopers of his old regiment.
- 1689, March 19. Dundee at Stirling and Dunblane *en route* for Dudhope.
- 1689, March 27. A herald arrived at Dudhope from the President of the Convention to command Lord Dundee to "lay down arms" and return to Edinburgh.
- 1689, March 30 or 31. Probable date of birth of Dundee's only child.
- 1689, April 9. Dundee's son baptised James.
- 1689, April 16 (approx.). Dundee raised the Royal Standard for the Highland War.

(For subsequent dates see *Itineraries. Appendix VI.*)

APPENDIX II

PORTRAITS OF CLAVERHOUSE

(A) FIRST in order of importance is *The Glamis Portrait*, in possession of the Earl of Strathmore, at Glamis Castle. (See Frontispiece, and description in text, Chapter V., pp. 139-140.) This picture is attributed to Lely, but it bears a striking resemblance to some of Kneller's best work. Lely died in 1680, when the subject of this portrait was only a Captain of Horse; and considering how Claverhouse even in his wealthiest days was "a good manager of his private fortune," and in personal matters economical "rather than profuse," it seems likely that the picture would not have been painted at the opening of his career, but rather some time subsequent to his marriage, probably between 1686 and 1688, during which years he was frequently in London and was at the zenith of his worldly prosperity. Considering the date of Lely's death, there seems good reason for supposing that Napier was right in ascribing this portrait to Kneller, who painted Sir George Mackenzie and several of Claverhouse's immediate contemporaries. It is not known when it was added to the gallery of portraits at Glamis Castle; but as Claverhouse's country house of Glenogilvy was only three miles from Glamis the Lord Strathmore of his day is likely to have known him intimately, and possibly he may have purchased the picture as a memento after the attainder of Claverhouse and the confiscation of his estates by the new Government.

This portrait has been engraved and photographed many times, but never with complete success; its mingled strength and refinement are so imperfectly conveyed by reproduction that the only way to judge it is by seeing the original. Various copies are in existence, in some of which, notably the copy in the Albert Institute at Dundee, the artist has thought fit to change the colouring, and paint "Dark John the Warrior" blonde and insipid. The expression has in some cases undergone startling changes at the hands of so-called copyists, and nothing has been preserved unimpaired except the outline of the figure and style of the dress. It is worthy of remark that Claverhouse's hair, which is frequently described by hasty commentators as "a brown wig" (light brown, dark brown, or golden, according to which copy of the portrait they chance to have seen), was no wig at all, but was his own hair. A glance at any of his portraits contrasted with the portrait of Mackay will show the difference between hair growing on the head and the modish high peruke brought into fashion by the *Grand Monarque*. Dundee's kinsman and Standard-Bearer, James Philip of Almerieclose, refers several times to his "long dark flowing locks," and an old servant who saw him at Duffus Castle in 1689 has left on record that his hair was then beginning to be touched with grey. In an age of perukes these unconcealed grey hairs must have been particularly noticeable.

(B) *The Melville Portrait* (p. 24). Head and shoulders of a youth in dark armour; the face almost front view, the head slightly turned, and the eyes looking into space with a melancholy dreamy expression. (See description, Chapter V., pp. 139-140.) This portrait was lent by Lady Elizabeth Leslie-Melville Cartwright to the Stuart Exhibition of 1888-1889, having been previously engraved for Napier's "Memoirs of Dundee." It has frequently been reproduced since by various photographic processes, and has been specially photographed for this work; but no photograph or engraving can do justice to the charm and beauty of the original. The supposition is that it was painted by a Dutch artist

Appendix Two

when Claverhouse was in the Netherlands, but there is no authentic means of dating it. The name of the painter is unknown, but he was evidently gifted with rare insight and imaginative sympathy, as well as consummate technical skill. The Duke of Montrose and Colonel Sir Simon Lochart of Lee possess portraits of Claverhouse which apparently are copies of the Melville picture.¹

(C) *The Morphee Portrait* (formerly at Morphee Castle, and now at Spylaw Bank, Colinton, Midlothian, in the possession of Miss F. B. Grahame). Half-length, in armour with lace cravat; the figure standing sideways, the head slightly turned so as to show three-quarters face. The features, colouring, and masses of dark curly hair, are similar to those shown in the Melville portrait; but the expression is less melancholy and more alert. This picture has never been engraved or photographed. It is undoubtedly an original, and (having been for generations in possession of the nearest representatives of Claverhouse's elder sister Magdalen, Lady Grahame of Morphee, and direct descendants of his younger sister Anna) its authenticity has never been questioned; but owing to its resemblance to the Melville portrait it has not been thought necessary to reproduce it for the present work.

(D) *The Pencil Drawing* in the National Portrait Gallery at Edinburgh (p. 94). Three-quarters face, head and shoulders, long flowing hair, armour and lace cravat. This at first glance presents the appearance of a miniature painted entirely in grey; but it is a fine pencil drawing, in a fashion much in vogue during the seventeenth century. "At the sale of an old Jacobite lady's effects it was purchased by the late Sir William Fettes, and given by him to his niece, Lady Douglas, who left it to her son, Mr Sholto Douglas. Mr Douglas presented it to the National Portrait Gallery at Edinburgh."² The engraving prefixed to the 1714 "Memoir of the Lord Viscount Dundee" was evidently founded on this drawing, which it closely resembles, though it loses some of the delicacy of the original, which is a work of considerable artistic merit. Copies of the "Memoir" containing the portrait are excessively rare, two in the British Museum and one in my own collection being the only three I have been able to trace.

(E) *The Portrait at Lochinch*, in the possession of the Hon. Hew Dalrymple. Head and shoulders; three-quarters face; armour and lace cravat. Enclosed in an oval. This would seem to be an early copy of the Airth portrait, which is engraved in vol. i. of Napier's "Memoirs of Lord Dundee," and it bears some slight resemblance to the pencil drawing described above. It is included in an old list of pictures belonging to the Dalrymple family, but how and when a portrait of Claverhouse came into the possession of the descendants of his bitter enemy the first Lord Stair cannot be traced. I can only suggest that as the main line gave out, and the earldom fell to the Cranstoun branch, the Claverhouse portrait was probably the property of Sir John Dalrymple of Cranstoun, who in his "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland" frankly avowed an admiration for Claverhouse, though writing at a time when the name of the last champion of the old régime was a target for violent political vituperation.

(F) *The Cultoquhey Portrait*, in the possession of A. G. Maxtone Grahame, Esq., of Cultoquhey, who kindly supplies me with the following note:—"It has always been in our family, having been removed from Balgowan when that estate was sold. In the catalogue of pictures it is described as 'John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Original portrait.'" It is, however, not unlike the portrait at Lochinch.

(G) *The Mezzotint by R. Williams*, "The Viscount Dundee" (p. 194). Head and shoulders. In armour, and handsome lace cravat. Full face, but head slightly turned to the left; the expression melancholy, the eyes looking into space. Below the portrait, and enclosed in a scroll design, are the arms and crest of Grahame of Claverhouse.

This Mezzotint is now to be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in the

¹ Information from Lady Helen Graham.

² Information from Miss B. M. Barclay-Grahame of Morphee.

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British Museum. There was a copy of it at Strawberry Hill, which was bought by Mr Stirling of Keir at the breaking up of Horace Walpole's collection; from this it was engraved for Napier's "Memoirs of Dundee." These are the only three copies I can trace. The photogravure to face p. 194 has been taken from the copy in the Bodleian Library, which was acquired in 1839 from the Sutherland Collection.

The dates of Williams's prints range from 1680 to 1704. The Dundee Mezzotint may very likely have been a memorial portrait published after the battle of Killiecrankie, and its rarity might be accounted for (like that of a certain mezzotint of Prince Charles Edward sometimes seen in private collections) by its chiefly having been circulated amongst Jacobites. The well-known engraver John Smith¹ at a later date used Williams's plates, inserting his own name instead, and he also is said to have published a "John, Viscount of Dundee."

The foregoing are the most important portraits; but others claiming to represent Claverhouse are in existence. Of these a brief mention will suffice. The so-called "Claverhouse" at Dalkeith Palace—a fat, fair, foolish-looking personage wearing the Order of the Elephant—is now admitted to be Prince George of Denmark. The "Lord Dundee" at Longleat is not Claverhouse (as the *Dictionary of National Biography* assumes), but, being attributed to Vandyke, it may reasonably be identified with John Scrymgeour, third Viscount Dudhope and first Earl of Dundee, who died without heirs in 1660. The portrait and miniature at Abbotsford are disappointing, the colouring of the miniature being such as to suggest that it must have been a fancy picture.

There is a portrait of Claverhouse in possession of the Earl of Northesk at Ethie Castle, painted probably by some local artist of insignificant ability. Claverhouse's mother, it will be remembered, was Lady Magdalen Carnegie, daughter of the first Earl of Ethie, afterwards Earl of Northesk. A portrait purporting to be of Lord Dundee (lent by General Russell of Aden) was shown in the Edinburgh Exhibition of 1908, at the same time as the Glamis picture, but it bore little resemblance to any of the authentic portraits. There is said to be a portrait of Claverhouse in possession of Sir Reginald Ogilvy of Baldovan, but of this I cannot give particulars, not having received any reply to my letter of inquiry.

¹ Born 1654; died 1720.

APPENDIX III

THE USE OF TORTURE IN SCOTLAND

THE Chancellor Perth, who appears nowadays in quasi-historical writings as an arch-demon of the Torture Chamber, has gained an unenviable notoriety as the inventor of thumb-screws; but as a matter of fact the thumb-screws used in his day had been in vogue for generations, though a new variety is said to have been introduced from Russia by Generals Dalzell and Drummond.¹

In the moving but mendacious "Annals of the Persecution" we read of Lord Perth superintending the most ghastly torments "with all the complacency of a thorough-bred inquisitor," and we are told that "the number of the individuals in lower life" put to the torture under his inspection, "the sameness of their tortures and the similarity of their testimonies it would be tedious to repeat."² It would also be a great strain on an already heavily taxed imagination. Sir George Mackenzie, who, being a member of the Government in question, speaks with authority, says, "Torture is seldom used with us; because some obstinate persons do oft-times deny truth, whilst others who are frail and timorous confess for fear what is not true: and it is competent to none but the Council or Justices to use torture, in any case. . . . Those who torture, if the person tortured die, are punishable as murderers."³

That torture could have been used at all is appalling to our more civilised minds, and it should be some consolation to Scotsmen to reflect that it was used much less in Scotland than on the Continent. The Scottish law lord, Lauder of Fountainhall, notes with interest the way in which every province in France "hath its sundry manner of torturing" persons suspected of murder or other crimes, "to extort from them a confession of the truth." He gives, in a dry precise manner, a horrible account of the torments in question, and after a revolting description of one of these processes he very unnecessarily points out that this "cannot but be accompanied with pain."⁴

Though investigation of Scottish history in the seventeenth century shows torture to have been less used in political offences than it was in France, it was employed frequently in supposed criminal cases. Fountainhall in 1687 notes the case of a certain Philip Stanfield, a young man of indifferent reputation, who was brought before the Privy Council for trial because his father had died suddenly and foul play was suspected. Sir James Stanfield and his son had been on bad terms, and on this fact alone was based the supposition of the son's guilt. As he said he not only was innocent of the crime but knew nothing about it, the law in perplexity had recourse to torture, which was unsuccessful in extracting any further information. The unfortunate man's tongue was then cut out and his hand cut off, and though nothing could be proved against him he finally was hanged. Had he been a Covenanter he would have found a place in the martyrology; as he was merely a man of fashion his fate is forgotten. Fountainhall, writing at the time of the condemnation, is evidently somewhat uneasy as to the justice of the verdict in this

¹ So says Fountainhall, who disliked the Chancellor and would certainly not have given him the benefit of any doubt.

² "Annals of the Persecution," by James Aikman, 1842, p. 484.

³ "The Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal," by Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, Edinburgh, 1678, pp. 543-545.

⁴ "Journal," p. 70.

Appendix Three

“dark case,” and refers the problem to the Day of Judgment for solution; “only it is certain he was ane bad youth,” comments the worthy Whig lawyer, “and may serve as a beacon to all profligate persons.”¹

It may be mentioned in conclusion that it was the pious General Mackay, not “bluidy Claver’sse,” who advocated the use of torture (see Chapter IX., p. 291); and that the last man to be tortured in Scotland for political reasons was no Covenanting saint but an English gentleman, one Henry Neville Payne, who was so unfortunate as to be suspected of complicity in a plot for the Restoration of King James. The Government subjected him to repeated bouts of torture in the hope that his prolonged sufferings would induce him to betray his accomplices; but he, with a fortitude which amazes our shrinking modern nerves, maintained such unbroken silence that in the end he wearied out his inquisitors. After ten years of illegal imprisonment he seems to have been released in the autumn of 1700, and his name then vanishes from the pages of history. Had he styled himself a saint he would have gained renown and sympathy; but being a Jacobite, and facing torture for the sake of an exiled King and a ruined cause, his fate made little noise at the time, and there are few who now keep him in remembrance. In the present work, however, it is fitting to pay this brief tribute to the courage and fidelity of one who remained inviolably true to the cause which had fallen for ever with Dundee at Killiecrankie.

¹ Fountainhall, “Decisions,” vol. i., p. 485.

APPENDIX IV

PORTRAITS OF LADY DUNDEE

(A) *The Picture at Methven Castle, Perth.* Head and shoulders; side face. This picture, now the property of Colonel David Smythe of Methven, came into his family through the marriage of his ancestor, David Smythe of Methven, with Catherine, daughter of William Cochrane of Kilmarnock, brother of Claverhouse's wife.

The colours are faded, and the portrait has never at its best been anything but mediocre work, so we may reasonably assume that it conveys only a remote idea of Lady Jean's attractions. That she was beautiful is asserted in contemporary verse, and the "elegance" of her appearance was eulogised even by those who saw her coffin opened a hundred years after her death. The Methven portrait depicts her as pale and slight, with straight golden hair, grey eyes, a long slim neck, and a somewhat appealing expression. She wears a low-cut garment, of nondescript tint and shape, embellished with a few small pearls.

The date of the painting is unknown, but I conjecture it to be prior to her marriage, which took place when she was about twenty-two years of age.¹

This portrait was sketched by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe for Napier's "Memoirs of Dundee," and has been photographed for Professor Terry's work on the same subject. It does not lend itself to reproduction; faded though the colours are, yet they serve to give the canvas some faint suggestion of vitality which is lost through the medium of photo-gravure.

(B) *Portrait in the Albert Institute, Dundee.* The date of painting and name of the artist are unknown; but if the picture represents Claverhouse's wife (as is believed) it may be conjecturally dated about 1686 or 1687. The lady it depicts is—as befits the wife of a distinguished man—much more self-confident and complacent in aspect than the Lady Jean Cochrane of the Methven portrait. An expression of serene and solid contentment has succeeded to the youthful fragility and timidity which characterise the earlier portrait. Moreover she has discarded her pale garments in favour of a glowing robe of deep red velvet. Her hair, no longer straight, is now elaborately dressed in ringlets, in the fashion made familiar to us by innumerable portraits of Court beauties of that day.

Drummond of Balhaldie describes Claverhouse as "an indulgent husband." Certainly he would seem to have been lavish in the way of jewels, for his Lady wears round her throat a row of large pearls; pearls in a double twisted string adorn the front of her bodice; from her ears hang pear-shaped drops of pearl, and on the bosom of her dress are dangling pearl drops suspended from large oblong sapphires. Her sleeves are held back with a chain of pearls and rubies, and there is a pearl and ruby ornament in her fair hair.²

¹ *Scots Peerage*, vol. iii., p. 352.

² Presumably these were all newly purchased for her, as the few jewels in her husband's possession were of small value. They had belonged to his mother, Lady Magdalen Carnegie, and after her death were given in charge of David, second Earl of Northesk. In 1675, during the absence of Claverhouse in Holland, his chamberlain on his behalf signed a receipt for these baubles, which had been delivered over to him on October 5. These articles are carefully enumerated: "An embroidered purse wherein there is a pair of gold bracelets; a gold ring, in it a little diamond; another small ring of little worth; a little hanger set about with stones and one ruby, whereof

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Presumably this portrait, like the other, may have faded, for it also represents her hair as a pale gold, instead of the "beautiful auburn" which it was discovered to be when her coffin was opened in the eighteenth century.¹

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF LADY DUNDEE

This lady's interrupted wedding seems to have been symbolic of the misfortunes which were in store for her after her husband's tragic death. She was evidently in sympathy with his political views, and during the Highland campaign he tells Lord Melfort of her exertions in raising money for him with the help of his brother-in-law, Young of Auldbar. She is said (by Wodrow and others) to have avowed a hearty detestation for the Presbyterian form of worship²; and her condition after the Revolution must have been most unhappy. Dudhope, Glenogilvy, and Claverhouse's other estates were all confiscated by the new Government, and by an ironical chance they fell to the lot of that Marquis Douglas whom Claverhouse had characterised in private to Lord Melfort as "a great knave, as well as beast."³ Douglas was brother of "that mighty Prince, Duke Hamilton," who, it may be remembered, was father-in-law to Lady Dundee's eldest brother, the second Earl of Dundonald. The Williamite Government of course did not respect Claverhouse's marriage settlements; so his widow was reduced to living with her eldest sister, Margaret, Lady Eglinton, whose husband, the ninth Earl (in 1684 Lord Montgomerie), had been a witness to the memorable "contract matrimonial" between the "noble Lady Jean Cochrane" and Colonel Grahame of Claverhouse. Lord and Lady Eglinton were rigid Presbyterians, and staunch supporters of the Revolution, so the atmosphere of Eglinton Castle must have been profoundly uncongenial to Dundee's widow. Her forlorn state being hailed by her relations as a fitting punishment for having loved and married the enemy of the Lord's own people, it is small marvel she continued (as Wodrow says) "very bigotte" against the godly.

In the winter of the year which had bereft her of her husband, her infant son fell suddenly ill at Eglinton while she was absent: and although she hastened back to tend the ailing child, its life had flickered out before her return. Overwhelmed with grief "beyond all bounds," the unfortunate lady was rebuked for her "excess of sorrow"; and Wodrow relates with evident gusto how his mother-in-law "took the freedom to warn her" that God could afflict her "somewhat worse" unless she would accept this present chastisement in a more humble spirit. Her anguished cry, "What can He do worse to me?" reveals such utter misery and desolation that even across the gulf of centuries it still must rouse compassion. But there was no mercy for her in the pious household of the Eglintons; and Wodrow, while recording her despairing protest, comments (with unctuous joy in smiting the Amalekite), "The answer I need not give; but her next child and herself both were taken away in a moment."⁴

A few years later (about 1692 or 1693) she emancipated herself from her uncongenial relations, and married William Livingstone, brother and heir to Viscount Kilsyth. This Livingstone had been the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Scots Dragoons who in 1689 had conspired to bring the regiment to join Dundee.

Tradition says that when Lady Dundee was at Colzium during the summer following

it lacks one stone, and hath one pearl. . . . It is also to be remembered that there is yet in custody of the said noble Earl a Portugal ducat, an earwhoop [earring?] with a piece of money weighing three rix dollars." (Orig. receipt at Ethie Castle, printed with all its eccentricities of old Scots orthography in Fraser's "History of the Carnegies," vol. ii., p. 358.)

¹ Napier, vol. iii., pp. 674-679.

² "Analecta," vol. ii., pp. 60, 263.

³ See Chapter X., p. 313 *ante*.

⁴ "Analecta, materials for a History of Remarkable Providences, mostly happening to Scotch Ministers and Christians," vol. ii., p. 263.

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her child's death, about a year after Killiecrankie, Colonel Livingstone began making his addresses to her, and gave her a ring, which she lost in the garden. The loss distressed her greatly as an evil omen, and prolonged search was made, but without result. More than a century afterwards, one of the gardeners digging potatoes came upon a ring "of gold . . . about the breadth of a straw, and without any stone," the external surface ornamented "with a wreath of myrtle," and on the internal surface engraved the words: "Yours only and ever." Napier on inquiring about this ring in 1862 heard from its owner, Sir Archibald Edmonstone, that it had been assumed to be the one Livingstone had given Lady Dundee; and another ring found soon afterwards, inscribed "Yours till death," was believed to have been the one she gave to him.¹ This is mere conjecture; and it seems equally plausible to suggest that the so-called myrtle decorating the ring was meant for laurel, famous as the Grahame badge, and this "Yours only and ever" may more probably have been the ring Dundee had given to his wife. "Yours till death," may have been Livingstone's, and possibly the lady lost them both at once. Into these regions of romance we cannot penetrate, nor do we know any particulars of her life with Livingstone beyond that she went abroad with him and bore him one son. In 1695, when she was about thirty-three years of age, she and the child were both killed by the falling of a house in Utrecht where she was living at the time. Her body and that of her son were embalmed and brought home to be buried at Kilsyth.

Livingstone consoled himself with a second wife, Barbara MacDougal of Makerstone. He succeeded his brother as third Viscount Kilsyth, joined the rising of 1715, fought at Sheriffmuir, and is described in a letter in the Marchmont Papers as "that ingrained rebel."² That Claverhouse's widow should have chosen a Jacobite for her second husband is significant of her continued detestation of the "godly."

She would seem to have been born under an unlucky star, for even in her grave she was not destined to be unmolested. Her coffin was opened in 1795, and left so that any passing yokel or chance traveller could lay rude hands on the embalmed corpse and rich auburn hair of her whose charms a hundred and eleven years before had won the heart and hand of the famed "Persecutor."

¹ Napier, vol. iii., pp. 680-681.

² Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. 14, Part III. His estates were forfeited and he died in exile.

APPENDIX V

DUNDEE'S HIGHLAND FORCES

AN exact statement of the number of warrior clansmen brought by the respective Chiefs to the Standard of King James is in many cases impossible. The Bond of Association drawn up after Dundee's death cannot be taken as representing their maximum numbers; under his leadership they were ready to take much greater risks than under General Cannon in whom they had no confidence. Dundee's Standard-Bearer, describing the Gathering of the Clans at Mucomir, seldom deals in figures; nor does John Drummond of Balhaldie, in his Memoir of his grandfather, Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, afford much more assistance. Hence the blank spaces which in the following list have been left opposite so many of the names. Even allowing for possible defections, Dundee counted on commanding over 6000 men at the rendezvous he had arranged for July 29 or 30, 1689; and he anticipated that a victory would bring many more flocking to his Standard. Taking the maximum numbers in the ensuing list, 7410 men are accounted for; and the blanks opposite the names of the Macmartins, Macgregors, Macnabs, Cowals, Gibbons, Macdonalds of Islay and Rathlin, Macneils of Jura and Barra, Macleods of Raasay, Dougals of Craignish, Maciachlans, Macnaughtons, Lamonts, Mackenzies, Farquharsons, Frasers, Robertsons, Gordons of Glenlivet and Strathdon, and others, must represent at least another couple of thousand, or probably more. The names in italics show the Chiefs who were present at Killiecrankie. For purposes of reference the clans have been arranged in alphabetical order.

LOCALITY ¹	CHIEF AND CLAN	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF MEN
Lochaber	<i>Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel</i> , Chief of the Clan Cameron, with his eldest son, John Cameron of Lochiel, and his son-in-law, <i>Alexander Drummond</i> (or <i>Macgregor</i>) of <i>Balhaldie</i>	1000 ²
Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine	Cameron of Glendessary, with a force of Macgregors	} numbers unknown
Glendochart (Perthshire)	Macnabs	
Lennox	{ Cowals Gibbons }	
Craignish Castle, Loch Craignish (Argyll- shire)	Dougal of Craignish	

¹ See Map A for clan localities.

² So says the Standard-Bearer. Balhaldie says Lochiel brought 600 men to the Mucomir rendezvous, but others joined later. 1000 represents the maximum force of Camerons. Only 240 were at the battle of Killiecrankie, the others arriving, under John Cameron of Lochiel, in time for the muster two or three days later.

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LOCALITY	CHIEF AND CLAN	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF MEN
Braemar	Farquharsons ¹	
Culduthill, N. of Kilcummin	Fraser of Culduthill and "the flower of his warriors"	
Foyers, in Stratherrick on the east bank of Loch Ness	Fraser of Foyers and "many clansmen"	
Strathbogie (Aberdeenshire)	Duke of Gordon's Gordons (Horse), under <i>Lord Dunfermline</i>	60
Glenbucket (Aberdeenshire)	<i>Gordon of Glenbucket</i>	
Glenlivet (Banffshire)	Gordons of Glenlivet	
Strathdon (Aberdeenshire)	Gordons of Strathdon	
Ballindalloch Castle (Banffshire)	Grant of Ballindalloch and his men	
Glenmoriston, in the parish of Urquhart, in Inverness-shire	<i>Grant of Glenmoriston</i> and his clan	150
Loch Fyne (Argyllshire)	Lamont with "his clan"	
Argyllshire [now of Kennox, Ayrshire]	MacAlester of MacAlester and his clan	
Argyllshire	MacAlester of Loupe	
Moidart, Arisaig, South Morar; and the Islands of Eigg and Muck in Minch; and Eriskay, South Uist and Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides	<i>Allan Macdonald, fourteenth Chief of Clanranald, with Donald Macdonald of Benbecula</i> (Tutor of Clanranald), and the entire clan of Macdonalds of Clanranald.	600 or 700
Glencoe, south-east of Loch Leven and Lochaber	Macdonald of Glencoe (Alastair MacIan) and his men	100
Glengarry, North Morar and Knoydart	<i>Alastair Macdonell of Glengarry</i> (Acting Chief), <i>Donald Macdonell of Glengarry</i> , his son ² <i>Æneas (?) Macdonell of Glengarry</i> (brother of Alastair)	300 100
Lochaber, Glen Roy, Glen Spean, Laggan and N.E. of Ben Nevis	Macdonald of Keppoch, "twenty companies" of Keppoch Macdonalds	250

¹ Joined the Jacobite army after the battle of Killiecrankie with the Macphersons of Cluny, the Macgregors, Gordons of Glenlivet and Strathdon, and others.

² Killed at the battle of Killiecrankie.

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LOCALITY	CHIEF AND CLAN	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF MEN
Kingsburgh, in the Isle of Skye	<i>Macdonald of Kingsburgh</i> ¹	
Argyllshire	<i>Macdonalds of Largo</i> . See Maclean of Otter	200
Peninsula of Sleat, and part of the Isle of Skye	<i>Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat</i> , ² and the Macdonalds of the Isles	500 to 700
Islay and Rathlin	Macdonalds and Macdonells	
Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine	Macgregors. See Drummond of Balhaldie and Cameron of Glendessary	
Ross-shire	Mackenzies, under the Earl of Seaforth	
Caithness-shire	Sinclairs and others, under Sir William Sinclair of Dunbeath ³	200 Horse and 800 Foot
Castle Lachlan, Loch Fyne (Argyllshire)	MacIachlan of MacIachlan "and his faithful friends"	
Islands of Mull, Tiree and Coll, Districts of Ardgour, Kingairloch and Morven	<i>Sir John Maclean of Duart</i> and his men Macleans of Ardgour and a force of Macleans of Coll and Torloisk Hector Maclean of Lochbuie ⁴ <i>Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter</i> , his immediate following, and "200 men out Argyllshire, belonging to <i>Macdonald of Largie</i> " ⁵	500 to 800 200 250 (?)
Raasay Island	Macleod of Raasay, and "a noble band of clansmen"	
Letterfinlay in Lochaber	Macmartin and his father, with "a great force of dependents" and "an illustrious company of brethren"	
Glendochart (Perthshire)	Macnabs. See Cameron of Glendessary	
Dunderaw Castle (near Loch Fyne, in Argyllshire)	Macnaughton of Dunderaw and his "clansmen, retainers and kinsmen"	

¹ Killed at the battle of Killiecrankie.

² Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, tenth Baron of Sleat and third Baronet, is said (by the author of the Clan history) to have joined Dundee, but to have been prevented by illness from leading his men at Killiecrankie. They were led by his eldest son, known as Sir Donald of the Wars. (Mackenzie's "History of the Macdonalds," pp. 220-224.)

³ See Dundee's letter to Macleod of Macleod, Chapter X., p. 308. These forces under Dunbeath never joined him, but he included them among his supporters.

⁴ The hero of the skirmish of Knockbrecht. (Chapter IX., pp. 294-295.)

⁵ Macdonald of Largie (or Largo) was killed at Killiecrankie.

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LOCALITY	CHIEF AND CLAN	APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF MEN
Barra (Outer Hebrides)	Macneil of Barra and "a great company"	
Isle of Jura	Donald Macneil of Gallachy and his men Macneils of Jura	
Kingussie, South Badenoch	Macphersons of Cluny, under Duncan Macpherson of Cluny	250
Perthshire N. and W., near Loch Rannoch	Alexander Robertson of Struan, ¹ Chief of the Clan Robertson	
Appin (bounded N. by Loch Linnhe, S. by Loch Etive, E. by the Glencoe mountains)	Robert Stuart of Appin and his clan	200
Atholl and Strathearn	Patrick Steuart of Ballechin, his son Charles Steuart, and the Steuarts and Murrays of Atholl	1200
Between Strathfrora and Strathfleet in Suther- landshire	Tulloch of Tannachy	

¹ There is some doubt as to whether Struan was present at Killiecrankie. He joined Lord Dundee at the beginning of the campaign, running away from college in order to do so. For his subsequent career see Appendix IX., p. 411.

APPENDIX VI

ITINERARIES OF THE HIGHLAND CAMPAIGN, 1689

CONTENTS

- (A) April 16—May 1. Retreat to the Highlands.
May 1—May 8. In Inverness.
- (B) May 10—May 13. Raid upon Mackay's line of communication.
May 14—May 16 or 17. Return to the Highlands.
- (C) May 27—June 5. Advance upon Mackay;
June 6—June 14. and subsequent retreat.
- (D) June 14—July 23. In Lochaber.
July 23—July 27. Advance to Killiecrankie.

Appendix Six

(A) RAISING OF THE STANDARD BY DUNDEE, AND HIS RETREAT N. AND N.-W. INTO THE HIGHLANDS

(Route marked in Red on Itinerary Map)

DUNDEE	MACKAY
April 16, Tuesday.	April 16. <i>Edinburgh.</i>
April 19, Friday to April 21, Sunday.	(“Towards April 20th.” Livingstone arrives at Glenogilvy to take Lord Dundee prisoner, but learns that he has gone north.)
April 24, Wednesday.	April — (?) . Mackay arrives at <i>Dundee</i> .
April 25, Thursday.	
April 29, Monday. April 30, Tuesday.	April 29. Leaves the town of <i>Dundee</i> for <i>Brechin</i> . April 30. Reaches <i>Fettercairn</i> , but finds no trace of Lord Dundee. Crosses the <i>Grampians</i> by a night march, passes the Dee at <i>Kincardine O'Neil</i> . April 30. Is joined by the Master of <i>Forbes</i> .
May 1, Wednesday (daybreak).	May 1. <i>Strathbogie</i> .
May 1 to 8.	May 2. Hears that Dundee is to be in <i>Elgin</i> with a Highland following, and decides to get there ahead of him. May 2, Thursday. Arrives at <i>Elgin</i> at nightfall. Wait for reinforcements.
May 8, Wednesday.	May 8, Wednesday A.M. Leaves <i>Elgin</i> . At <i>Forres</i> hears that Dundee has left <i>Inverness</i> . Arrives in <i>Inverness</i> that evening.
May 9, Thursday.	

Appendix Six

(B) DUNDEE'S BOLD RAID ON MACKAY'S LINE OF COMMUNICATIONS—DUNKELD, PERTH AND DUNDEE—AND RETURN TO THE HIGHLANDS

(Route indicated in Blue on Itinerary Map)

	DUNDEE	MACKAY
May 10, Friday.	Leaves <i>Presmukerach</i> , and crosses the <i>Grampians</i> at daybreak, and goes via <i>Loch Garry</i> to <i>Blair Castle</i> (25½ miles), thence to <i>Dunkeld</i> (19½ miles). Rests until evening. Night march.	
May 11, Saturday.	Raid on <i>Perth</i> , 2 or 3 A.M. (14 miles). Secures arms, ammunition and prisoners. At noon leaves <i>Perth</i> for <i>Scone Palace</i> (2½ miles), and goes on to <i>Stobhall Castle</i> (5½ miles).	
May 12, Sunday.	<i>Cargill</i> (2 miles), night march via <i>Cupar-Angus</i> and <i>Meigle</i> .	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> May 8 } Remains to } at May 26. } <i>Inverness</i>. </div>
May 13, Monday.	(early morning) <i>Glamis Castle</i> (17 miles); 5 p.m. outside <i>Dundee</i> (13 miles); (evening) <i>Glenogilvy</i> (10 miles).	
May 14, Tuesday.	Leaves <i>Glenogilvy</i> , via <i>Cupar-Angus</i> (13 miles), <i>Dunkeld</i> (13½ miles), <i>Weem Castle</i> , <i>Comrie Castle</i> , <i>Garth Castle</i> to <i>Loch Rannoch</i> (33 miles), to <i>Loch Treig</i> (25½ miles).	
May 16 or 17.	<i>Glen Roy</i> in <i>Lochaber</i> to <i>Mucomir</i> (14½ miles).	
May 18 (?) to May 26.	Gathering of the Clans.	

(C) ADVANCE UPON MACKAY AND SUBSEQUENT RETREAT

(Route indicated in Green)

	DUNDEE	MACKAY
		May 25, Saturday. <i>Inverness</i> . Hears that Ramsay with reinforcements had reached <i>Atholl</i> . May 26, Sunday. Sets out intending to join Ramsay via <i>Moy</i> . At or near <i>Carrbridge</i> , hears of Ramsay's retreat. May 27, Monday, May 28, Tuesday. Retreat by <i>Castle Grant</i> and <i>Strathspey</i> .
May 27, Monday.	March from <i>Mucomir</i> by <i>Glen Spean</i> , <i>Loch Laggan</i> , <i>Garvamore</i> , and across the <i>Spey</i> via <i>Cluny</i> to <i>Raiths Castle</i> (47 miles).	

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	DUNDEE	MACKAY
May 29, Wednesday.	Celebration of the Restoration. March to <i>Ruthven Castle</i> (3 miles), siege of the Castle; Forbes offers to capitulate if not relieved in three days. ¹	
June 1, Saturday.	Forbes marches out of <i>Ruthven Castle</i> with his garrison. Dundee burns the Castle and marches back to <i>Raitts</i> (3 miles). Decides to engage Mackay immediately.	June 1, Saturday. In camp near the Kirk of <i>Alvie</i> .
June 1.	Arrives at <i>Alvie</i> too late to catch Mackay.	June 1. Mackay begins his retreat.
	Pursuit of Mackay for "four days" via Rothiemuchus Forest, across the Spey at <i>Kinakyle</i> along the edge of <i>Abernethy Forest</i> , by the <i>Haughs of Cromdale</i> , through <i>Glenlivet</i> , past <i>Ballindalloch</i> , <i>Ben Rinnes</i> and <i>Balveny</i> , to within 3 miles of <i>Strathbogie</i> (61 miles from Ruthven).	Chased by Dundee by <i>Rothiemurchus Forest</i> across the <i>Spey</i> by <i>Abernethy Forest</i> , <i>Culnakyle</i> , <i>Haughs of Cromdale</i> , <i>Glenlivet</i> , <i>Ballindalloch</i> , <i>Ben Rinnes</i> , <i>Balveny</i> .
June 5, Wednesday. June 5-6.	(late evening) Dundee halts at <i>Edinglassie</i> (3 miles). Dundee falls ill, and his forces grow disorderly.	June 5. Night march. June 6. 4 A.M. Brief halt, crosses the <i>Bogie</i> river and advances to <i>Suy Hill</i> . Joined at noon by Berkeley's Dragoons and Leslie's Foot.
June 6, Thursday.	Receives warning (from the Scots Dragoons) of Mackay's advance and leaves <i>Edinglassie</i> at nightfall for <i>Auchindoune Castle</i> (5 miles).	Midnight. Mackay reaches <i>Edinglassie</i> too late to surprise Dundee.
June 7, Friday.	March back from <i>Auchindoune</i> by <i>Glenlivet</i> to <i>Cromdale Hills</i> (32 miles by road). False alarm by night at <i>Haughs of Cromdale</i> .	
June 8-9.	"The Viscount did not march six miles in all" to <i>Abernethy Forest</i> .	June 8, Saturday. <i>Culnakyle</i> .
June 9, Sunday.	Dundee while encamped in <i>Abernethy Forest</i> hears at night sounds of firing.	June 9, Sunday (evening). Defeat of Berkeley's and Livingstone's Dragoons in a skirmish with the Macleans.
June 10, Monday.	(dawn) Arrival of the Macleans in camp after their victorious skirmish with Livingstone's and Berkeley's Dragoons.	June 10, Monday. <i>Culnakyle</i> .

¹ After May 29 the *Grameid* gives no other dates; and from this point to the end of the chase my dates are approximate only; but if the Standard-Bearer is accurate in asserting that three times the sun rose and set before Forbes capitulated (p. 175), then the burning of Ruthven Castle took place on June 1. That there was some delay is clear from Hay's report, which states that Forbes surrendered "after some days," (Macpherson, vol. i., p. 355.)

Appendix Six

	DUNDEE	MACKAY
June 11, Tuesday.	Dundee retreats to <i>Ruthven</i> in <i>Badenoch</i> ¹ (22½ miles).	June 11, Tuesday. Mackay and Ramsay join forces near <i>Aviemore</i> .
June 12, Wednesday. June 13, Thursday. June 14, Friday.	<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> <p>Halts at <i>Keppoch</i> (39 miles).</p> <p>Returns to his former quarters at Strone in <i>Lochaber</i> (5½ miles).</p> </div> </div>	<p>June 12, Wednesday. Retires to <i>Inverness</i>; stays "the matter of a fortnight" to see if the enemy would "undertake anything further," and then returns via <i>Elgin</i>, June 27, to <i>Edinburgh</i>.</p>

(D) MACKAY'S ADVANCE FROM EDINBURGH. DUNDEE'S MARCH FROM STRONE TO BLAIR ATHOLL. BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE

(Route indicated in Green)

	DUNDEE	MACKAY
July 22, Monday.	Dundee from <i>Strone</i> writes commanding <i>Cluny</i> to have provisions ready for 1500 men for two days.	July 22, Monday. <i>Edinburgh</i> . Mackay reports himself as "just now going for Stirling and Perth."
July 23, Tuesday.	P.M. <i>Garva</i> (27 miles).	
July 24, July 25.	Whereabouts uncertain, probably <i>Cluny</i> (8 miles).	July 25, Thursday. <i>Perth</i> .
July 26, Friday.	A.M. <i>Breakachie</i> (4 miles by road). P.M. <i>Blair Castle</i> (28½ miles).	July 26, Friday. Reaches <i>Dunkeld</i> .
July 27, Saturday.	(At sunset.) Battle of <i>Killicrankie</i> (or <i>Raon Ruariedh</i>), Victory of Dundee.	July 27, Saturday. Advances from <i>Dunkeld</i> ; reaches the Pass of <i>Killiecrankie</i> about noon. Goes through the Pass, and is defeated on the heights of <i>Raon Ruariedh</i> at sunset.

¹ Macpherson (vol. i., pp. 259-260) dates "June 4" a report from *Badenoch* referring to the *Knockbrecht* skirmish as "three days ago." Obviously June 4 is a misprint or a clerical error. Professor Terry plausibly suggests it is a misreading of 4 for 9 (IV. for IX.), and assuming this to be the case, he dates the skirmish June 7, and works backwards, dating the burning of *Ruthven Castle* May 29, the day that Dundee first summoned Forbes to surrender. He asserts that the Standard-Bearer's statement of three days elapsing is not borne out elsewhere, and that "Forbes probably surrendered on the day he was summoned." But Hay's report clearly specifies that Forbes only surrendered "after some days" (see note, p. 398 *ante*), and this upsets Professor Terry's dates.

APPENDIX VII

DUNDEE'S MORTAL WOUND, AND LAST LETTER

THE elements of contradiction and disputation which enter so largely into each event of Dundee's stormy life are no less conspicuous in connection with his death, and there has been a prolonged controversy as to whether he died on the field of battle or, as Dalrymple states, recovered from his faint, and wrote an account of the action to King James.¹

Modern academic opinion has assumed that as Dundee is believed to have died in the moment of victory his Killiecrankie letter to the King must be a forgery; and though this theory has received the support of careful scholars such as Professor Terry and the Rev. John Anderson, it is nevertheless of modern origin. The authenticity of the letter was never questioned until 1826, when Mr Smythe of Methven (editing the Claverhouse correspondence for the Bannatyne Club) doubted its genuineness, not on internal evidence but on the hasty supposition that Dundee had died immediately on being wounded. Macaulay, alluding to Macpherson's publication of the letter, characteristically pronounced it a forgery "as impudent as Fingal," and the generality of historians have been content to echo this opinion until it has become incorporated among popular beliefs. Sir William Fraser accepted as conclusive the statement of Stewart of Stenton that "My Lord Dundee was shot dead on the head of his horse." But Stenton only wrote from hearsay, and the letters dated shortly after Killiecrankie teem with false rumours. If we had no knowledge except what can be gathered from letters written during the few days subsequent to the battle, we should be led into supposing that Mackay and not Dundee had perished. The consternation in Edinburgh over the expected arrival of Dundee as conqueror I have already described, and the following extracts will show the prevalence of totally erroneous information:—"Mackay is either killed or taken," writes the Duke of Hamilton on July the 28th, and he adds that Dundee will already be master of all Scotland north of the Forth²; and Sir William Lockhart the same day informs Lord Melville that Belhaven and Kenmuir are certainly killed, and he fears Ramsay and Hastings and all their officers are dead as well.³ In point of fact not one of them was even wounded; but the dismal news spread quickly, and "the death of every particular man" was "documented" so circumstantially that to refuse to believe it was "like denying the light at noon."⁴ If the foregoing letters from Hamilton and Lockhart had been discovered without those that succeeded them, they would certainly have been held to demonstrate the complete annihilation of Mackay and his officers. Nothing but the reappearance of

¹ "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. ii., Part II., p. 88. It may be mentioned that in King James II.'s *Life*, written by himself (Macpherson, vol. i., p. 221), we observe noted the arrival of news from Scotland "that my Lord Dundee has defeated Mackay," etc., etc., but until later there occurs no mention of the victor's death which converted the triumph into disaster. Macpherson says, "the Memoirs left by King James in his own hand consist rather of memorandums made for his own use when the transactions happened than a regular narrative of events." It would appear from this that King James heard of the victory before he heard of Dundee's death, which seems as though Dundee's letter might have been despatched while Dundee was still alive.

² "Leven and Melville Papers," p. 203.

³ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 213.

DUNDEE'S HIGHLAND CAMPAIGN 1689.

Map A.



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these worthies, safe and sound—their “resurrection” as Sir William Lockhart called it—could have convinced their own contemporaries they had outlived the fight. All this considered, it seems somewhat hasty of Sir William Fraser to have accepted as proof positive of Dundee’s instantaneous death a statement in a gossiping letter written by a man who had not himself been present in the battle. Professor Terry however gives the prestige of his name and learning to the same side of the argument as Fraser and as Smythe of Methven. The crux of his contention is that as Dundee was wounded “in the eye” and died immediately, the letter is of necessity a forgery. But I on the other hand maintain that as there is no adequate motive for forgery, and as the letter is in the very spirit and manner of Dundee, and as the evidence of his death upon the battlefield is not convincing, the letter deserves a more respectful treatment than it has received since 1826 when Mr Smythe of Methven first cast doubts upon its authenticity.¹

Many of King James’s private papers were destroyed accidentally by fire at St Germain, and the original of the disputed letter is not to be found, nor are the other letters of Dundee among the Carte and Nairne Papers in the Bodleian Library anything but copies. In Macaulay’s day, the Killiecrankie letter, with Dundee’s speech to his men, was known only in this transcript in the papers of Sir David Nairne who had been Under-Secretary of State to James II. after the Revolution. Since then another contemporary transcript has come to light among the Constable-Maxwell MSS. at Everingham Park, and also a broadside has been discovered by Mr F. L. Mawdesley who communicated it to *The Athenæum*, January 10, 1903. The broadside dates the speech and letter “July 27, 1689,” and “July 28, 1689,” respectively, whereas the manuscript version of the letter in the Nairne Papers is undated. “There are several verbal discrepancies between the two,” says Mr Mawdesley, “the principal one being the interpolation in the broadside of the words ‘and of our body that consisted of near 6000 men’ before the words ‘We have not lost full out 900.’” It will be remembered that Dundee arranged for a great gathering of the clans to take place on July 29 or 30, but—on hearing that Mackay intended to capture Blair Castle—went on ahead with a comparatively small force, and that more than two-thirds of his Highlanders arrived at Blair too late for the battle which had taken place on the 27th. Whoever printed the letter (the phrase is of necessity vague) might reasonably, on hearing that the Highland army consisted of 6000 men, have taken for granted that they had all been present in the battle, and therefore might have interpolated words to that effect. The same mistake occurs in other contemporary accounts, especially those of King William’s partisans, who by exaggerating Dundee’s numbers could the better excuse Mackay’s defeat.²

The letter shows Dundee’s peculiar characteristic touch,³ and—in that it presses James to land in Scotland, and to bring with him the Horse and Dragoons his Majesty

¹ Hogg in his “Jacobite Relics,” published in 1818-1821, says that Claverhouse “survived the battle and wrote an account of it to James with his own hand, but died before noon next day.” Hogg is on many occasions wildly inaccurate, but at least he represents the traditional opinion of his time.

² Professor Terry argues that the MS. in the Bodleian Collection is merely a copy of the broadside, and that it was sent to St Germain probably as a curiosity. But who, we may ask, would have taken the trouble to copy by hand a broadside which could most likely have been bought for a couple of pence? And even if the King’s secretary collected such “curiosities,” he surely would not have allowed them to be confounded with the copies of authentic letters. If the letter were spurious it would have been docketed “the pretended letter,” or some such phrase. In maintaining that the Bodleian MS. was not copied from the broadside, I would suggest that the broadside was possibly copied from the MS. among the Constable-Maxwell Papers at Everingham. This transcript (which is presumably unknown to Professor Terry) contains the interpolation of the 6000 men, which interpolation forms the only vital difference between the broadside and the Bodleian MS., and the figures may have been added (as I suggest above) owing to the mistaken notions widely prevalent as to Dundee’s strength at Killiecrankie.

³ I see this is recognised by Mr Andrew Lang. “History of Scotland,” vol. iv., p. 21, note.

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thought "inconvenient" to ship over—it tallies with the emphatic demands in both his letters to Lord Melfort.

The last few lines are far from reassuring; they reveal King James's General disabled, and regarding death as a most possible contingency; and though the surgeons may have thought proper to inform him that his wounds would not be fatal, his "whether I live or die" suggests that he was by no means blinded by their favourable report.¹ If the concluding words of this remarkable letter had been written—as Professor Terry tells us—by a forger to bring peace of mind to the English Jacobites, I can only repeat that such expressions were likely to produce results exactly opposite to those desired. A rumour of Dundee's death had reached England by August 2; the news was publicly confirmed the following day²; and Professor Terry takes for granted (though the hypothesis would be impossible to prove) that the broadside was then issued at once by "the Jacobite party-managers," as a counterblast to the disastrous report. But surely the terms of the letter would more probably have been interpreted to ratify rather than contradict the statement of Dundee's death.

Professor Terry declares also that the letter stands or falls with the speech to the troops, given both in the manuscript and broadside; and he asserted positively in his biography of Claverhouse that the speech was concocted by some enterprising pamphleteer bent on enhancing the interest of the spurious letter.³ I cannot agree with him that the speech is so "conventional" as to be obviously false. For a great leader to inspire his followers by reminding them that they were fighting "in the best of causes," for their King and country, against usurpation and rebellion, and that it rested with them to redeem the nation's honour which had been laid low by the treachery and cowardice of some of their countrymen, may sound "conventional" to those who study history with a purely academic interest, but to the men who fought at Killiecrankie such words would have had deep significance. Though the report of a speech is less to be depended on than the copy of an actual letter, yet the speech sets forth, if not Claverhouse's precise words, at least what we all know to have been Claverhouse's standpoint.

If I cannot agree with Professor Terry in his rejection of the disputed letter and speech, still less can I concur with him in the credence he accords to seventeenth-century journalism as exemplified in "An Account of the Proceedings,"⁴ a series of periodical publications which bear the obvious marks of haste and inconsistency. Professor Terry says (on the authority of this "Account") that "on 7th September 1689 Mackay and some of his officers returned to Edinburgh from Blair Castle. They reported that they had viewed Dundee's body 'which by undeniable marks they knew to be his,' lying in a coffin in the Vault of Old Blair Church and that 'the Mortal Wound he received, and of which [he] soon dy'd was by a Shot in his left Eye.'"⁵

On consulting the number of the "Account" from which Professor Terry culled his information, I see that it is not Mackay who is by way of having viewed the corpse of Claverhouse, but merely "some of the officers that came to town" with him, and that, even for a journalist, the author of the "Account" is remarkably careless and forgetful; for instance, in one place Dundee is said to have been buried on the 29th of July, but some six weeks later he is described as "not yet interred." The story of viewing his corpse is repeated,⁶ with Sir Duncan Campbell mentioned instead of some of Mackay's officers, and

¹ Some such reassurance seems to have been in accord with medical etiquette. John Woodall, Surgeon at St Bartholomew's Hospital, in his elaborate instructions for the cure of gunshot wounds, begins by saying "Conceal from the patient the great danger of his wound." ("Military and Domestique Surgery," p. 303, London, 1639.)

² Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. 12, App. VII., p. 253.

³ Terry, "Claverhouse," App., p. 358.

⁴ "An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland, etc. etc." London, 1689. British Museum press mark 600 m. 4 (8).

⁵ Terry, "Claverhouse," Appendix II., p. 126.

⁶ No. 54, p. 129

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two more corpses added; and one of them, the laird of Pitcur, is declared to have been killed in the fight, when in reality he survived the battle several days.¹ Dundee's army at Killiecrankie is here estimated at 6000 foot and 100 horse; and this "glaring error"² on which Professor Terry laid great stress when it appeared interpolated in the broadside lately under discussion, would seem to have been overlooked by him in this "Account" on which his whole case rests.

That a seventeenth-century journalist should be self-contradictory is comprehensible, but that a scholar of Professor Terry's attainments and reputation should accept such careless gossip and bring it forward seriously as "authoritative and credible"³ against the statements of Nisbet, Ian Lom, and Lord Balcarres is certainly astonishing, especially as another number of the same "Account of the Proceedings" says that Lord Dundee lived four hours after he was wounded, which statement if accepted must upset Professor Terry's case for instantaneous death. Lieutenant Nisbet's evidence in favour of Dundee's recovery of consciousness cannot be disregarded; it is evidence given upon oath by one of Dundee's opponents, before an assemblage composed of Williamite partisans and presided over by Dundee's special enemies the Duke of Hamilton and Sir John Dalrymple. In these conditions the witness could have no motive for glorifying Dundee, and the words ascribed to the dethroned King's General when Johnstone condoled with him upon his wound are such as it would have been difficult and purposeless to invent: "It is the less matter for me, seeing the day goes well with my Master." If Nisbet, when examined upon oath, was speaking truly (and I can see no reason here for scepticism), then the assertion that Dundee was killed instantaneously by a wound in the left eye is of necessity untrue.

This assertion, though repeated in an extremely inaccurate anonymous "History of the late Revolution in Scotland," published in London a year or so after Claverhouse's death, was ignored until Professor Terry thought it worth reviving. As phrased in the "Account of the Proceedings," that same statement is expressed in slipshod fashion: "the Mortal Wound he received, and of which [he] soon dy'd, was by a shot in his Left Eye." Now a mortal wound in the eye if, as Professor Terry thinks, it was immediately fatal, would have killed by direct injury to the brain, and Dundee so wounded could not have spoken afterwards; but Professor Terry, though declaring "with conviction" that Dundee was wounded "neither in the left, the right, nor the centre of his body, but in his left eye,"⁴ cites nevertheless in his biography of Dundee the conversation between Dundee and Johnstone,⁵ forgetting that in those conditions it would have been a physical impossibility for Dundee to have recovered consciousness. How then can this conversation be ruled out of court? On reconsidering the case Professor Terry says in reply to me that no one knows who Johnstone was,⁶ that an unknown person might have had "discreditable motives,"⁷ or, in plain words, might have been a liar.

I own I am somewhat puzzled by Professor Terry's standpoint as to the relative value of evidence. He now takes away the character of Johnstone, whose anecdote he formerly accepted without question; but, despite his sudden doubt of Johnstone's word *because we do not know who Johnstone was*, he still believes implicitly the statement vaguely attributed by the anonymous journalist to some unnamed "officers" of Mackay. Moreover, he not only accepts this unreliable information as to the wound of which Dundee "soon" died, but he regards it as a confirmation of the forgery theory;

¹ Balhaldie's "Memoirs of Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel," p. 269.

² Terry, p. 360.

³ Terry, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 63.

⁴ Terry, "Claverhouse," App., p. 353.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 343.

⁶ *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 63.

⁷ "The Johnstone youth" is mentioned by the Standard-Bearer, and a "Mr John J ohnstone, brother to the Earl of Annandale," is mentioned for prosecution. See p. 276 and note, *ante*.

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whereas, if followed literally, it serves the opposite side of the argument, as it says Dundee "soon" died, and the case for forgery requires that Dundee should have expired not "soon" but instantly.

With regard to my objection to his ideas of surgery, Professor Terry in his second article¹ says he is told that an oblique shot might shatter the eye-socket and not immediately be fatal. But such a wound—I venture to point out—is quite outside his purpose. There are two ways only of being killed by an eye-wound: by direct injury to the brain (which means instantaneous death), or by a gradual process which would be in no way suited to Professor Terry's contention against the authenticity of the letter. In the case of an oblique shot, the wound would suppurate, and the suppuration, gradually spreading backwards to the brain, would set up inflammation, of which the patient eventually would die. During this process the victim would be able to speak and write until the inflammation finally penetrated to the brain; so even if we could place reliance on the statement that the mortal wound Dundee received "and of which he *soon* died was by a shot in his left eye," the evidence could be against instead of with Professor Terry.

The controversy is one in which conjecture plays a larger part than certainty, but Johnstone's story in the Nesbit evidence appears to me the most reliable and significant that has been yet brought forward. Had Johnstone attempted self-glorification there might be some reason to cast doubt upon his information; but it is Dundee, not Johnstone, who is the hero of the occasion. Professor Terry in his recent argument overlooks the important fact that Nisbet's evidence regarding Johnstone was upon oath, elicited in the course of a judicial inquiry, and that it passed unquestioned by Sir John Dalrymple and other legal luminaries who were conducting the proceedings.

As Balhaldie says that the wound which killed Dundee was in the lower part of the left side, it seems reasonable to interpret his slipshod expression "two hands breadth within his armour" to mean within two hands-breadth of his armour—*i.e.* below it, the armour being, I suppose, a breastplate and backpiece such as is indicated in the famous Glamis portrait. To assume that "two hands breadth within his armour" means inside the armour and above the waist, would be to bring the wound into the region of the lungs and contradict the other half of the same sentence which specifies that it was in the lower part of the side, and was probably gained while Dundee "stretched" himself to stand up in his stirrups.²

The same objection applies to Professor Terry's suggestion that Balcarres, when referring to a wound in the side "immediately below" the armour, may mean below the neck-rim rather than below the belt.³

¹ *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 63.

² Balhaldie, p. 269.

³ This statement as to Dundee's mortal wound is made only in the 1714 printed edition of Balcarres's "Memoirs" (pp. 106-107), an edition which Balcarres himself asserted to have been inaccurately transcribed. Balcarres's original MS. cannot be traced, but the MS. copy of his "Memoirs," in the hand of his son the fourth Earl, gives no details as to the nature of the wound, but merely says Dundee was, "by a distant shot, mortally wounded; he attempted to ride on, but fell from his horse." Balcarres and Balhaldie are at variance as to the moment at which Dundee fell; Balcarres says it was in trying to bring up some of the Macdonalds to attack Hastings's and Leven's regiments after all the rest of Mackay's army, even including the Horse, had fled; but Balhaldie asserts it to have been a few moments sooner, during Dundee's final charge when he was beckoning to Sir William Wallace to come on. This is immaterial to the present argument, but Balhaldie, whose father was one of those who found Dundee lying unconscious on the field, seems a more credible witness as to the nature of his mortal wound than some nameless "officers," who are reported in a newsletter to have viewed Dundee's corpse some weeks after the battle. It may be argued against the authenticity of the letter to the King that Balhaldie gives the impression that Dundee died on the field. As Balhaldie's father went off almost immediately at the head of some straggling Highlanders, to pursue the enemy, and as the pursuit lasted till after daybreak, he would not have been present to witness Dundee's recovery of consciousness, and by the time he returned Dundee would have been dead. I take it that Balhaldie's phrase about Dunfermline and Alexander Drummond of Balhaldie and others on the

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My reading of Balcarres and Balhaldie is confirmed by the Gaelic poem attributed to the bard of the Macdonalds, Ian Lom, in which the bullet is described as piercing Dundee beneath the folds of his clothing :

“O heroic leader, thou didst fall in the fight,
And dreadful was thy arm till thy hour came. . . .
Like flaming fire to them thy wrath
Till fate crossed thy path ;
Neath the folds of thy clothing the bullet pierced thee.”¹

Mr Andrew Lang thinks that this poem ascribed to Ian Lom who was present at Killiecrankie is more probably the composition of some other bard, and that it should be dated 1710 or thereabouts²; but granting that parts of the effusion may have been composed as late as 1710 and grafted on to an older song, it would have been addressed to a Highland audience familiar with the circumstances of Claverhouse's death ; and, even after one and twenty years, the transference of a wound in the eye to one beneath the folds of clothing cannot be explained away by any stretch of poetic licence.

In entering the lists on behalf of Professor Terry, the Rev. John Anderson referred to the Killiecrankie letter as if I had supposed the MS. to be in Dundee's own hand.³ I am not aware that anyone—least of all myself—has ever claimed more for it than that it is a contemporary transcript.⁴ Mr Anderson, in upholding the forgery contention, and protesting that the letter is too accurately spelt to come from Dundee's pen, leaves on one side the point which obviously is of greatest practical importance—namely, *what would a Jacobite forger gain by taking King James's General out of his grave merely to put him on a probable deathbed?*

A question of this kind is far more relevant than any question of spelling. I, as well as Mr Anderson, have seen most of Dundee's letters in the original, and am necessarily aware that he spelt in the casual fashion of a “Person of Quality” and not with the precision of a printer ; but I see no reason why the authorised transcriber of his letter should have exactly reproduced his spelling after the careful fashion of a modern antiquarian copyist. A forger would have been careful to imitate the “Dundie” signature with which so many people must have been familiar ; but a secretary copying an authentic and undisputed letter would more probably spell according to his own personal habits. The other copies of Claverhouse's letters published by Macpherson from Nairne's papers—those to Lords Melfort and Strathnaver—are also spelt more conventionally than was usual with Claverhouse, but no one has assumed them to be spurious on the strength of this fact. The only pretext for questioning the most characteristic last letter of King James's champion was the assumption that he expired the moment he fell from his horse ; which assumption (as I have shown) is amply disproved by Nisbet's evidence.

The Rev. John Anderson thinks it peculiar that Dundee should report how his men behaved with gallantry equal “to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies, and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion.” This, contends Mr Anderson, is an unnatural mode of expression, for “it was a mere commonplace

field of battle having “poured out a flood of tears on the hearse of their great General” is not to be accepted literally, floods of tears being more suited to demonstrative southerners than to reticent Caledonians. This seems to me merely a metaphorical way of expressing the conviction that Dundee's death meant the ruin of the Jacobite cause.

¹ *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. iii., No. 9, October 1905, article “Killiecrankie described by an Eye-witness.”

² “Hist. of Scot.,” vol. iv., p. 17.

³ Anderson, “Claverhouse's Last Letter,” *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 69.

⁴ The Rev. W. D. Macray of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, in 1862, told Napier that the MS. copies of the letter and speech were certainly contemporaneous. He added that there was not “a shadow of reason for pronouncing the dying letter a forgery.” (Napier, vol. iii., App., p. 662.)

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that his men, chiefly Highlanders, should behave bravely, and to compare them with disciplined troops seems unnecessary."¹ But if Mr Anderson had discussed the matter with his military acquaintances they would have laid stress upon the fact that, as the issue of the battle depended precisely upon the ability of these same Highlanders to face and overcome Mackay's trained army of Regulars, it surely was most relevant that the victorious Commanding Officer should show his just pride in the forces which owed their victory to his power of utilising their especial qualities.

The reference to Mackay's "old soldiers and their feelings," continues Mr Anderson, "seems to come oddly from one who, if he did live till 28th July, must have been too weak to consider such a point, and who does not appear to have ascertained the feelings of the enemy."

But surely the feelings of the enemy are clearly evident from the crude fact that those who were not killed made haste to run away. One charge from the Highlanders sufficed to win the battle; and as for Dundee on his deathbed being "too weak to consider such a point," the thoughts of the victorious General could best be gauged not by scholastic judges but by his peers. If the case could be submitted to a jury of distinguished soldiers there can be little doubt which way their verdict would incline. "I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it." Such an illuminating phrase—and indeed the whole tone of the letter—will speak to men of action in language which no forger, be he ever so skilful, could have assumed. *Le style c'est l'homme*; no man in the Jacobite ranks could have so successfully counterfeited Dundee's style unless he had been gifted with a character and spirit closely akin to Dundee; and if there had been on King James's side a second Claverhouse, the Highland war would not have practically ended with the death of the victor of Killiecrankie. His successor Colonel Cannon proved utterly incompetent; and that friends and enemies alike recognised in Claverhouse the one strong man who could hold together the conflicting elements of an irregular force, is clear from all contemporary evidence. It is equally clear—to me at least—that this death-bed letter embodies the concentrated essence of his life and principles and character.

The greatest of our modern historians, S. R. Gardiner, said that when evidence was scanty or conflicting, the student could probably arrive at a decision by means of the logic of character. According to the logic of character, no man except Claverhouse could have written that letter, and it is the failure on the part of the modern reading public to grasp his military and personal standpoint which has kept alive the theory of forgery so hastily expressed by Mr Smythe of Methven.

Attention may be drawn to the contemporary English rendering of Pitcairn's famous Latin elegy, written very shortly after Dundee's death, and translated by Dryden within two months of the battle.² "*Farewell, who dying did'st support the State,*" might be read as reference to Claverhouse's last urgent effort in his final letter to arouse the King to action. His actual death did not "support the State" as understood by Jacobites, but deprived it of its strongest prop.

"New people fill the land now thou art gone,
New Gods the temples, and new Kings the throne."

¹ *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. vi., p. 69.

² So I gather from a letter from Thomas Brown to Dr Griffith, dated September 27, 1689. Brown sends Griffith "An Elegy in Memory of the Gallant Viscount Dundee who was killed by a random Shot after he had won the Battel at Gilliecrankey, Writ by Mr Brown at the Request of Dr Griffith and Mr Burgess." Brown, whose muse was amorous rather than heroic, expresses himself as wishing that someone else had been chosen for the honourable but difficult task: "I am afraid I have not treated this great man's character as he deserves; and withal I am told Mr Dryden has something of this nature new upon the stocks." (Letter in Brown's "Collected Works," vol. iv., p. 48, 1720.) This presumably refers to Dryden's English version of Pitcairn's epitaph, as no original verses on Dundee appear amongst Dryden's writings.

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It should be further observed that the spirited letter of defiance written to Mackay by the Highland Chiefs some weeks after Dundee's death,¹ despite its vigour and vitality, bears no resemblance to Dundee's own reticent and concentrated modes of expression; and the letter of the Chiefs represents the best epistolary powers of those who strove to carry on the lost cause of the Stuarts. If even Dundee's personal friends and associates, fresh from his influence, did not acquire something of a kindred style, it is not to be expected that Professor Terry's nameless "party managers" in London should have been more successful.

Humanly speaking, the whole weight of evidence is in favour of the letter; and it would therefore be more reasonable if historians in citing the theory of forgery would henceforth put it forward as a personal expression of scepticism, rather than as a fact which it is treason to deny.

¹ See Appendix VIII. *supra*.

APPENDIX VIII

REPLY OF THE HIGHLAND CHIEFS TO MACKAY'S OVERTURES

DURING the Parliamentary proceedings in connection with the confiscation of the Jacobite estates, a characteristic letter Mackay had received from the Highland Chiefs was read out to the assembled legislators. This letter, written three weeks after Dundee's death, but before his inspiring influence had waned, is eminently qualified to show the temper of those Gaelic gentlemen who, having promised to support King James, elected to remain with him in a sinking ship—a choice which to many of their contemporaries was incomprehensible. After acknowledging Mackay's offers to make overtures to the new Government on their behalf, the Jacobite leaders scoffingly refuse his terms:

"The Christian means (as you say in your last) you make use of to advance your good cause by, is evident to all the world; and the argument you use to move us to address to your Government, is consequential to the whole, for instead of telling us what Christians, men of honour, good subjects and good neighbours ought to do, you tell us in both your letters that his Majesty has hot wars in Ireland and cannot in haste come to us,—which,—though it were as true as we know it is not,—is only an argument from safety and interest. And, that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world we scorn your usurper and the Indemnities of his Government. And to save you further trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our King take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels. And, although he should send no assistance to us at all, we will all die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our Sovereign.

"Judge then what effect Duke Hamilton's letter has upon us; but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland, and although we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories has influence, yet since we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels, we allow you and his Grace to believe on, and take your measures by your success till his Majesty's further orders.

"Sir, we thank you for the good meaning of your invitation, (though we are confident you had no hopes of success), and we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital. And those of us who live in Islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates.

"We are, Sir,

"Your affectionate and humble servants,

H. M'Lean of Lochbuy.	Alexr. MacLaine.	Pa. Steuart.
Alexr. M'Donell.	Jo. MacLeane.	J. M'Nachtane.
D. M'D. of Benbeculla.	E. Cameron of Lochiel.	Alexr. M'Donald.
A. Macneill of Barra.	C. M'Kenzie.	A. M'Nachtan.
D. M'Neill.	D. Macdonald.	Jo. Cameron.
Ra. M'Donald.	John Grant of Balnadaloch.	Tho. Farquharson.
Jo. M'Donald."		

Above the signatures a postscript is squeezed in:

"We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton because you have more use for it than we."¹

¹ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., Appendix, p. 60.

APPENDIX IX

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF DUNDEE'S OFFICERS

OF those venturesome and loyal spirits who followed Dundee through the campaign of 1689 very few failed in fidelity to the lost cause. In many cases they disappeared into obscurity, and died practically of starvation, rather than retain their revenues and estates at the price of compromise with the new Government. Amongst those the date and place of whose death cannot be traced is Claverhouse's brother *David Grabame*, which is the more surprising because as third Viscount Dundee he would have been a personage of considerable importance.¹ After Killiecrankie he remained in arms for about three months, till he was taken prisoner with Struan Robertson² while defending the House of Struan. He was then imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, but subsequently released on an exchange of prisoners. Sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him in 1690 (July the 14th), and his fame and honour were declared extinct according to the usual formula.³ Then he escaped to France, and his name—as *Viscount of Dundee*—appears, in company with those of *Lords Dunfermline* and *Dunkeld* and *Sir Alexander Maclean* in a list of officers of the famous Scots Brigade at Dunkirk in June 1692.⁴

The latest reference to him which I can find is in "A View of the Court of St Germain from the year 1690 to 95," an anti-Jacobite pamphlet printed in London in 1696. This pamphlet so hit the popular taste that 30,000 copies were sold within a few weeks of publication. It sets forth how "The *Lords Dunfermline, Dundee, Dunkeld, Colonels Cannon, Graham*, and several other Protestants, having forfeited their estates and families, retired into France, as also did the Colonels *Buchan, Maxwell, Wauchope*, and some other Popish gentlemen. But when they came to St Germain, the Papists were immediately preferred to considerable posts, both in the French and Irish armies, while the Protestants, though their merit was greater, were exposed to all imaginable hardships and contempts."

After this, David, Lord Dundee vanishes into oblivion.

The French Penal Laws against Protestants were of a severity still more savage than the English Penal Laws against Catholics; and even if King James had the inclination to protect his Protestant followers it is doubtful if he had the power, for Louis XIV. was at that period atoning for a former laxity of morals by rigid orthodoxy of dogma. The Protestants at the Jacobite Court of Saint Germain were not allowed to hold church services, and though it was requested of the "Most Christian King" that he should permit them to "pray to God together according to their manner," the petition was ignored. A Protestant in France was not entitled to have a doctor when ill, nor even to be buried decently when dead; and Lord Dunfermline's friends were obliged to bury him secretly at midnight to save his corpse from "the last indignity of being drawn through the streets on a hurdle and thrown on the town midden."⁵

¹ The Jacobites naturally did not recognise King William's attainder, so David succeeded to the (nominal) viscounty in December 1689 on the death of the second Viscount, Claverhouse's infant son.

² Cal. S.P. Dom. William and Mary (p. 304).

³ Acts Parl. Scot., vol. ix., App., p. 61.

⁴ Stuart Papers, vol. i., Hist. MSS. Comm. p. 74.

⁵ Lart, Jacobite Registers. Intro., p. xi. Dunfermline's case seems to have aroused indignation.

Appendix Nine

The ultimate fate of some of Claverhouse's other friends may be briefly noted. *Lord Dunkeld*, who was a Catholic, became a Colonel in the Scots Brigade in the service of Louis XIV. (1693), and was killed in action, leaving a son who attained the rank of General in the French army, and a daughter who entered the nunnery of Val de Grace.

David Grahame of Duntrune (son of Walter Grahame, who was second son of Claverhouse's great-grandfather) assumed the title of Dundee some time after the death of the third Viscount, it having been granted to heirs male general if the direct line should fail. His son *William* succeeded him as fifth Viscount (*de jure*) and joined the Jacobite insurrection of 1715. His son *James*, sixth and last Viscount Dundee, true to the family traditions, took part in the rising of 1745. After the battle of Culloden he escaped to France, had a company in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment in the French service, and died childless, at Dunkirk, in 1759.¹ After that the title was not claimed, though the Grahames of Duntrune (now extinct in the male line) were the undoubted heirs of Claverhouse.²

Among the Highland Jacobites none merits more honourable remembrance than *Allan Macdonald*, fourteenth Chief of *Clanranald*. After Killiecrankie he obtained a commission in the French army under the Duke of Berwick, was severely wounded, and "acquired to himself a considerable reputation" as a soldier. He married (October 9, 1694)³ one of the Court beauties of Saint-Germains, Penelope, daughter of Colonel Alexander Mackenzie who had been Governor of Tangier in the days of Charles II. This charming lady (says Balhaldie, who may probably have known her)

"was no less distinguished by her uncommon beauty and the graces of her person than by the vivacity of her wit and the sweetness of her temper. . . . Two such persons, who seemed formed by nature for each other, could not well miss to conceive that mutual esteem that soon introduces love among people of distinguished merit; and the event showed that no couple were ever more happily matched. Some time after his marriage *Clanranald* returned to his own country, which lies among the remotest of the Western Isles; and though almost out of the world, yet the reputation this happy pair gained by the elegance and politeness of their taste drew company from all parts of the kingdom, and formed a kind of little court."⁴

In such circumstances there must have been every temptation to have held aloof when in 1715 Lord Mar raised the Royal Standard in the name of James VIII. The expedition was—in the eyes of the discerning—foredoomed to failure; but, with a disinterested gallantry which does them infinite honour, the survivors from Dundee's campaign gathered together and joined the forlorn hope—and none more readily than *Clanranald*. To the Jacobite camp at the same time thronged his former comrades in arms, *Macdonald of Keppoch* ("Coll of the Cows"), *Macdonell of Glengarry*, *Robert Stuart of Appin*, *Alexander Robertson of Struan*, *Sir John Maclean of Duart*, *Gordon of Glenbucket*,

tion even among his enemies. King William's zealous servant John Macky, in the pamphlet already quoted, refers to him as a notable victim of King James's ingratitude. "The Earl, through a mistaken notion of loyalty and honour, had sacrificed his worthy family and a plentiful estate, to follow that Prince in his misfortunes; and it must be granted that such a proof of loyalty deserved some kind return." However Dunfermline fell out "with one Captain Brown, a Papist," and Brown was "encouraged and countenanced" by the King while Dunfermline "was flouted. This ill-treatment broke his heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard fate. . . . His misfortune lasted longer than his life; for notwithstanding his merits, sufferings, and the interest made by his friends, he could not obtain a Christian burial." This is written with the professed object of vilifying King James and discouraging Jacobite sentiment in England; but as regards Dunfermline's melancholy end it is substantially true; and several other Jacobite Protestants were equally unfortunate.

¹ G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*.

² See Pedigree.

³ *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 31.

⁴ Balhaldie, "Memoirs," pp. 248-249.

Appendix Nine

and many another loyal and faithful Highlander who six and twenty years ago had answered to the summons of the fiery cross. But this time there was no Claverhouse to lead the clans to victory ; so their devoted courage and ungrudging services were vainly squandered. Clanranald was amongst those who fell mortally wounded in the disastrous fight on Sheriffmuir, lamented (says Balhaldie) even by his enemies. His widow was created Baroness Clanranald by " King James VIII.," in recognition of her husband's valiant services.¹

All the Macdonalds remained true to the exiled king. *Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh*, who had first seen service under Montrose and had fallen at last at Killiecrankie, bequeathed his Jacobite principles to his descendants ; his son fought at Sheriffmuir, his grandson helped Prince Charles Edward to escape after Culloden, and his great-grandson married Flora Macdonald.

Alexander Robertson, thirteenth of Struan, attainted in 1690, had, after thirteen years of exile, been pardoned by Queen Anne. In 1716, after the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was newly attainted ; but, with the good fortune which seldom failed him, he managed to escape and fly to France. " King James VIII." created him a Knight and Baronet in 1725² ; but he again won forgiveness from the ruling powers, and in 1731 returned to Scotland. Though in 1745 in his old age he joined Prince Charles Edward's ill-starred expedition, he contrived to escape the tragic fate which overwhelmed the greater number of his comrades. His death took place from natural causes in 1749, and he was buried with his ancestors at Struan. He was author of a book of verse, the contents of which are much less to his credit than his military achievements.

Another of Dundee's allies who lived to grow old was *Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel*, who after all his exploits and adventures died peacefully in his bed. His son was " out in the '15," and his grandson was one of the heroes of " the '45."

The *Grants of Glenmoriston* were Jacobites to the end, and after the battle of Culloden many of them paid for their loyalty by being shipped to Barbadoes and sold as slaves. The seven men of Glenmoriston, who though outlawed and in great poverty remained faithful to Prince Charles, when by betraying him they could have obtained the large reward of £30,000 of English gold, are deservedly famous in Highland history.

It is also of interest to remember that another of Claverhouse's allies, *Macdonald of Glencoe*, whose family and clan were treacherously slaughtered at midnight by order of King William, had one son who escaped the massacre, gathered together what remained of the broken clan, and in 1745 led 130 men to the banner of Prince Charles Edward. General Stewart of Garth relates that when the Jacobite army on the way to Edinburgh encamped near Newliston House, the property of Lord Stair, the Prince was apprehensive lest the Glencoe Macdonalds should take vengeance for the massacre of their clan, of which atrocity Sir John Dalrymple, the first Earl of Stair, had been chief instigator. The Macdonalds however protested that they had too great a sense of justice to punish Lord Stair for an ancestral crime of which he personally was innocent ; whereon the Prince allotted to them the task of guarding the house of their hereditary enemy.³ Such was the magnanimous spirit of the Highland " savages."

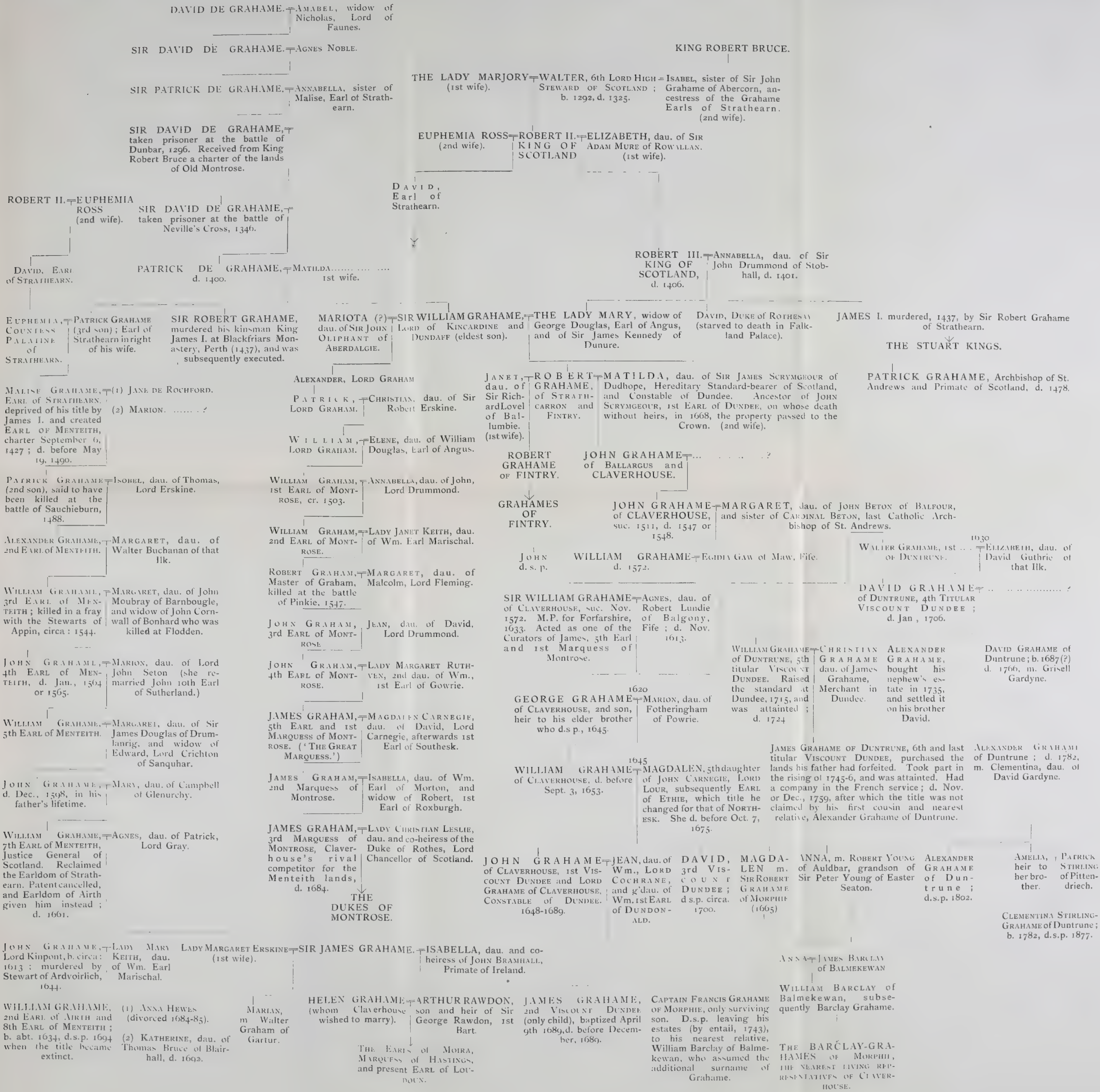
The foregoing facts suffice to refute Macaulay's statement that the Jacobitism of the northern chiefs and clansmen was mere selfishness and cupidity. Their honour is more than vindicated by their actions.

¹ Creation September 28, 1716. (*Jacobite Peerage*, p. 31.)

² *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 156.

³ "Sketches of the Highlanders," vol i., p. 106, note.

GRAHAME PEDIGREE, CONNECTING MENTEITH, MONTROSE, FINTRY, CLAVERHOUSE & DUNTRUNE



TRANSCRIPT OF A LETTER FROM GRAHAME OF CLAVER-
HOUSE TO LORD QUEENSBERRY, MAY 19, 1684

MY LORD,

Though I got all the assurances imaginable from the General, that day I parted with you, that his orders for me should be as soon at Glasgow as I, yet I waited at the Hawkhead and thereabout for five or six days and heard nothing from him. So I was forced to write to him, as I did to the L[ieutenant] G[eneral] Drummond and the President of the Session, that if the King's service was retarded the blame should not lay on me. Upon which he sent me orders ; but he is in a terrible huff.

I marched to Ayr with Col[onel] Buchan and the five companies of Foot, and the half of the Guards, with my Lord Ross['s] troop. After which I went in to Galloway and visited the houses appointed for garrisons, and I find them very proper ; so soon as beds and other necessities are provided, the troops will enter into them, which will be immediately.

I was at Dumfries, and gave all necessary orders for those that lay there, and I set the Commission to work ; after which I went into Clydesdale, and considered the houses appointed for garrisons there. They are proper enough for the use, but by what I can perceive they will not be provided on a sudden with necessities. I am now come in to give the Committee account of this, and to know if there is anything further to be done in those countries for the King's service. I find the want of the garrisons in Galloway, and the withdrawing of the forces from the shire of Ayr, has occasioned all the insolency that appeared in those rogues this last winter ; and now that the troops are so posted, I shall answer for the peace and good order of all those countries—which in a manner is all the fanatic part of the Kingdom ; and I must say that the new alliance that I am like to make is not unuseful to me in the shire[s] of Ayr and Renfrew. They¹ have the guiding of those shires, and they do strengtben my hands in the King's service, particularly my Lord Montgomerie,² whom I recommend to your Lordship's favour. I will answer for him that he will be very forward in the King's service, and very sincere in his friendship and duty to your Lordship.

I have written to His Royal Highness anent that match, hearing that Duke Hamilton had scrupled to ally with that family without the King and the Duke's leave. I feared this might have been advised by some persons to load me that had not been so circumspect. For my own part I look upon myself as a cleanser. I may cure people guilty of that plague of Presbytery, by conversing with them, but cannot be infected ; and I see very little of that amongst those persons but may be easily rubbed off. As for the young lady herself, I shall answer for her. Had she been right-principled she would never in despite of her mother and relations [have] made choice of a Persecutor, as they call me. So whoever thinks to misrepresent me on that head will find themselves mistaken ; for both in the King and the Church's

¹ i.e. The Cochrane family.

² Eldest son of the Earl of Eglinton ; he was married to Lady Margaret Cochrane, sister of Claverhouse's intended bride.

Transcript of Letter

interest, drive as fast as they think fit, they will never see me behind. However, my Lord, malice sometimes carries things far ; so I must beg your Lordship will defend me if you find anything of this nature stirring.

The Bishop of Glasgow, when I waited on him at his house, desired me to assure your Lordship of his respects and put you in mind of what he spoke to you concerning Mr Ross being Principal of the College of Glasgow. I had a letter from Sir John Falconer,¹ wherein he tells me he waits your Lordship's up-coming, and that he expects you will be generous when you have him at mercy ; and I hope your Lordship will show him favour after my Lord Middleton is satisfied for his concern in that affair.² We are all very impatient to hear such news from your Lordship as we wish and your care and zeal in the King's service deserves³ ; and there is none has so good reason to wish you success as

My Lord

Your most humble and faithful servant

J. GRAHAME.

EDINBURGH, *May the 19. 1684.*

Mr Colin Mackenzie desires to assure your Lordship of his respects and begs for your assistance in the Clerk's place for Menzies will die ; Sir John Gordon is gone up for it. Sir William Paterson designs the whole office, and many pretenders there are.⁴

¹ Master of the Mint.

² *i.e.* An inquiry into the affairs of the Mint, in connection with which corrupt practices were suspected and subsequently proved.

³ This refers to the dukedom which Claverhouse had advised the King to confer upon Queensberry.

⁴ Menzies did die, and Colin Mackenzie in July 1684 was "admitted conjunct Clerk of Council with Sir William Paterson" who, as Fountainhall relates, bribed the Duchess of Portsmouth "to keep himself in."

My lord

Tho I got all the assurances
imaginable from the generalls that day I parted
with you, that his orders for me should be as soon
at Glasgow as I got & waited at the Fleet and
there about for fyve or six days, and received
nothing from him. so I was forced to resort to
him as I did to the Lieut: Drummond and the pro-
fident of the faction, that if the Kings order
was retarded the blame should not lay on me
upon which he sent me orders. But he is
in a terrible huff. I marched to air with coll:
Bouchan and the fyve compaignies of foot
and the half of the guards with my lord's
trous. after which I went in to galloway and
visited the houses appointed for garisons, and
I found them very proper so soon as beds and
and other necessaries are provided the troups
will enter into them which will be immediatly.
I was at Dumfries and gave all necessary orders
for those that lay there, and I sent the comission
to work, after which I went in to Ellersdale
and considered the houses appointed for gar-
sons there, they are proper enough for the
purpose but by what I can perceive they will not
be provided on a sudden with necessaries.
I am now comen to give the comittee account
of this, and to know if there be any thing
further to be don in those contrys for the
Kings service. I found the want of the gar-
sons in galloway, and the withdrawing the
forces from the shyr of air has occasioned

that
all the insolvency appeared in those regions this last
winter. and now that the troops are so pressed
I shall answer for the peace and good order of all
those contrays which in a manner is all the wealth
point of the kingdom. and I must say that the men
alloys that I am lyk to make is not unusefull to
me in the shyre of air and kerfrow. I praye
the guiding of those shyres and they doe strengthen
my hands in the kings service. I particularly my
lord montgomery whom I recomended to your
lordships favour I will answer for him that
he will be very forward in the kings service
and very sincere in his friendship and duty to
your lordship. I have wrytten to his Royall high-
ness anon that match bearing that deute
hon had scrupulled to alloys with that fami-
ly with out the king and counsels light. I feared
that this might have been addressed by some per-
sons to load me that had not been so circum-
spect. for my own part I look on myself
as a cleargor I may our people guilty of
that plague of schism by conversing with
them but can not be infected. and I am very
litle of that amongst those persons but may
be easily rubbed off. and for the young lady
herself I shall answer for her. Had she been
right principled she would never in dispute
of her mother and relations made choyse
of a persecutor as they call me. so who
ever thinks to misrepresent me on that
head will fynd them self mistaken. for
both in the king and churches interest I praye
as fast as they think fit they will never see
me solynd. Honor my lord make some thing
carys things far so I must begg your lordship
will defend me if you fynd any thing of
this natur shewing. The Bishop of Glasgow when
I waited on him at his house offered me to assure

your lordship of his respect and put you in mind of what he
shold to you concerning the king's service. I had a letter from Sir John Gillespie pattern the
told me he shold your lordships up coming, and that he shold
you will be attending when you shold him about after my lord milles
If I hope your lordship will shold him about after my lord milles
down as a highway for his concern in that affair. I shold all my
injunction to shold such news from your lordship. I shold all my
and your ear and shall in the king's service. I shold all my
is now has so good reason to shold you. I shold all my
my lord

Done: may the 19.

1584

your most humble and loving
servant
Johnstone
your lordship of his respects and begs
for assistance in the clergy. I shold
is you up for it. for William Johnston
bearing the royal office and many
understands that

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It must be understood that the books in the following list are of very various qualities, and that many of them should be read with extreme caution.

For the benefit of any reader who wishes to plunge into the quagmire of political and theological controversy, the bibliography has been carefully revised and made as complete as possible. A general knowledge of the period is requisite for the proper understanding of Claverhouse; and the works which the student should start by examining are marked with a star (*). A word regarding Claverhouse's biographers may here be of use. To Napier should be given the credit due to a pioneer; in the middle of the last century it required considerable moral courage to enter the lists as Claverhouse's champion, and Napier's very obvious faults of style, taste, and arrangement should not distract us from the fact that his industry and knowledge were considerable. Historic methods have made great strides since his time, and his book has been superseded; but it ill becomes his successors, profiting by his labours, to grudge him his due share of recognition. There are short lives of Claverhouse by "A Southern," Mr Mowbray Morris, and Mr Lewis Barbé, all apologetic in tone. Apologetic likewise is Professor Terry's learned, careful and voluminous work, which, despite its wealth of detail, does not attempt to convey the brilliant personal magnetism of its subject. Out of sixteen chapters, three only are devoted to the campaign of 1689 which constitutes Dundee's chief claim to immortality.

Mr Henry Jenner, in his introduction to the Stuart Series reprint of the early eighteenth-century *Memoir of Dundee*, has given a witty and illuminating criticism of the mental attitude of the Scottish public towards "the Persecutor"; and the Transatlantic essayist, Miss Agnes Repplier, is still more pungent in her comments on the Covenanted popular fallacies.

Works of all grades of value will be found in the ensuing list. As studies in prejudice, *Naphthali, Jus Populi, The Hind let Loose*, and, among recent publications, Dr Hewison's *The Covenanters*, are to be noted; while for a temperate and illuminating exposition of the questions at issue Mathieson's *Politics and Religion* is invaluable. For general military information Mr Charles Dalton's *The Scots Army*, and for minute particulars of the Battle of Killiecrankie the *Military History of Perthshire* by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, will be found most instructive; while the *Grameid*, ably edited by the late Canon Murdoch, contains a mine of information as to the Highland campaign. The sources from which I have cited Claverhouse's letters will be seen from the notes to my text, but may for additional convenience be here enumerated. The despatches to Lord Linlithgow (which, with the single exception of the Drumclog letter preserved in the British Museum, are now possessed by the Marquis of Bute) were first printed in the Bannatyne Club edition of Claverhouse's *Letters* (1826), where also will be found the famous "disrespectful" letter to the Duke of Hamilton, the letters to Lord Murray and Lord Melfort, and the disputed letter to the King; the three last having been first published by Macpherson in 1775 (*Orig. Papers*, vol. i.), from the Nairne and Carte MSS. Napier in his *Memoirs of Dundee* gives the letters to Queensberry which he discovered among the family papers of the Duke of Buccleuch. (Those who enjoy seventeenth-century orthography will prefer to read these in the 15th Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm. App. VIII.) Seven additional letters are given in Provost Macpherson's *Gleanings from the Charter Chest at Cluny Castle*, No. II.; and one in the 12th Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm. App. VII. The brief letters to the Earl of Airlie and Sir Robert Grierson of Lag are published in my book for the first time, thanks to the courtesy of their owners.

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GRAHAME OF CLAVERHOUSE
VISCOUNT DUNDEE



MICHAEL BARRINGTON